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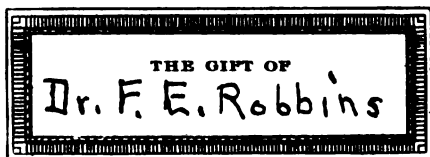
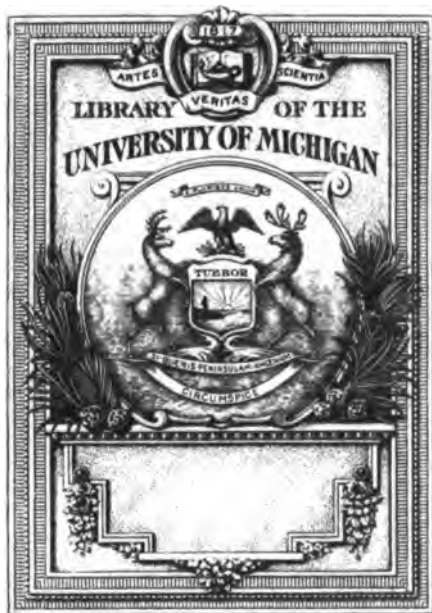
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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CLASSICAL
ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH
WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF
THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND

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OCTOBER, 1910

Number 1



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VOLUME VI

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NUMBER I

Editorial

THE OUTLOOK

With this number *Classical Journal* enters upon its sixth volume. Our old readers will at once notice a new departure in the fact that the first number of the volume is issued in October instead of in November. We are glad to announce that this means an issue of nine numbers for the year instead of the eight numbers of former years. The total number of pages will not, however, be increased for the present, although it is hoped that this may be done in another year.

The old contract with the University Press under which the first five volumes were published expired with the publication of the June number of the present year. After considering all available choices, the Executive Committee has, by the authorizing vote of the Association, made a new contract with the University of Chicago Press for a period of five years, with such changes as seemed mutually desirable to the Association and the Press. The *Journal* is to be congratulated upon the continuance of this relation with its publishers, who have contributed much to the establishment of its present standard of material excellence.

An important change in the management of one of the departments of the *Journal* is announced. At the request of Professor J. J. Schlicher, who for several years past has edited the "Reports from the Classical Field" for the *Journal*, the managing editors have decided to divide this department into two independent departments. It is proposed to continue one of these under the management of Professor Schlicher, and to include therein the

survey of general conditions and practice in classical teaching and study, a survey which he has already so successfully instituted and conducted. The other department, under the head of "Current Events," will present everything that is properly news—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. This department will be under the charge of four associate editors who will have each his separate field, and who will together cover the whole field. These fields as outlined will be as follows: (1) the territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; (2) the Middle States west to the Mississippi River; (3) the Southern States, and (4) the territory west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas.

VIRGIL, AND THE TRANSITION FROM ANCIENT TO MODERN LITERATURE¹

BY FRANCES J. HOSFORD
Oberlin, Ohio

The last quarter of the fifth century and the sixth century after Christ saw endings and beginnings which may be compared only to the great upheavals of the geologic ages. In 476 Rome, plundered, humbled, helpless in the hands of the northern barbarians, gave up the fiction of sovereignty, and sent the robe of imperial purple to Constantinople. Soon Theodoric, another and a more enlightened Ostrogoth, conquered the conqueror of Rome, but perhaps the most far-reaching result of his splendid reign was the establishment of the monasteries of Cassiodorus at Squilace, and of St. Benedict at Monte Cassino—the initial step of the mediaeval type of monasticism. It was in 529 that St. Benedict first gathered his monks about him in his new retreat at Monte Cassino, upon the site of an ancient temple to Apollo. That was a noteworthy year for the passing of the old as well as for the coming of the new, for it was in 529 that Justinian closed the School of Athens. The brilliant victories of Justinian's general, Belisarius, only served to prove the desperate case of the old civilization, and pestilence completed the work of barbarism. Between them, they changed the whole face of Europe. And straightway the Lombards, fiercest and most ruthless of the northern hordes, were to sweep away Roman and Ostrogoth alike, to end the shadowy remains of imperial power at Ravenna, and to overthrow the Greek cities of southern Italy. When Antharis, son of Cleph, swept the peninsula like a tornado, and, at the southern extreme of Italy, had urged his warhorse into the salt waves, then throwing his spear as far as his mighty arm could hurl it, proclaimed, "This is the end of the power of the Lombards," that moment was indeed the "consummation of the ages." As the Roman knew this planet, it might well be described as the "end of the world."

¹ Read before the Latin Club of Columbus, Ohio, February 26, 1910.

Who were these barbarians who thus trampled beneath their feet the splendid result of centuries of human effort? We can only guess what wild fens, what frozen steppes, or interminable forests gave them birth, and trained muscles of iron and souls of even sterner stuff. The Huns, with their broad cheekbones and cruel, featureless faces, came and again returned upon their desolated track. But the Germans stayed—men of gigantic stature, with flaxen hair and fierce blue eyes. They were so masterful that as Visigoths in Spain they made the term “blue-blooded” synonymous with hereditary leadership, and so ruthless that as Vandals in Italy and Africa they gave their name to every species of wanton destructiveness. They burned and razed with the power of gods and the ignorance of children. The implements of the higher culture were the most worthless of their playthings. Books made a bonfire, easy to light. Marble statues had a certain value, for they would go into the limekiln better than blocks from the quarry. Bronzes could be melted for armor or weapons, while every artistic object in gold or silver was eagerly sought, to be remolded into their clumsy ornaments or primitive media of exchange.

When we remember how many successive waves of destruction swept over Europe, the marvel is, not that so much of the old culture was lost, but that anything remained, for after all, the classic civilization is the foundation upon which is built much that is best and most enduring in our modern life. How is it that it did not pass away, as did the civilizations of Assyria and Phoenicia, to be resurrected only by the toil of the specialist, and to remain quite without significance to our times?

The connecting link was the Christian church, as it gradually took upon its primitive simplicity the form of Roman Catholicism. Persecuted in the days of the Empire's splendor, flourishing in its decadence, the church came to absorb into its bosom the Roman genius for organization and government. The glory of Roman dominion did not fade. It passed from temporal to spiritual. The church conquered the conquerors of the civilized world. It met fire and sword with the symbol of the cross, and blood-stained warriors paused in their work of destruction, and, kneeling before unarmed priests, craved the rite of baptism. It did not make these wild

fighters of the North into men of peace. But it won from them the concession that certain persons, certain places, certain times should be sacred. It made it possible for the scholar, the devotee, the sensitive and timid soul, to find a haven in the cloister; and, making common cause, perforce, with its old enemy, it saved the pagan literature.

When we scan the confusing records of that fearful sixth century, we study the exploits of Belisarius and Narses, only to find in them a wholly futile attempt to stem the tide of barbarism. How many of us note that, while Belisarius was still fighting the Persians for Justinian, the monasteries of Squilace and Monte Cassino were established, and that here, not upon the tented field, the best of the old civilization was to be preserved? Least of all did the founders of these retreats know what they did. Silence, humility, and obedience, these were the three virtues of the Benedictine discipline. The three occupations were worship, manual labor, and the reading of devotional literature. But several reasons combined to lead the monks to the careful study and diligent copying of the Latin classics. Idleness was early recognized as the bane of monastic life, and the chief opportunity of the arch-tempter. They turned to agriculture, and the monks became the first farmers of mediaeval Europe. But crops cannot be raised in the winter, and all are not equally fitted to follow the plough. An indoor occupation must be found, and the readiest to the hand was the copying of manuscripts. Then, as the old culture receded, as spoken Latin became unintelligible, as the diction of Cicero passed into a multitude of local dialects, devout men knew that they must save the Latin language, or lose touch with the Scriptures, in the form of the Latin Vulgate, the writings of the Fathers, and the services of the church. So schools must be established, and the old literature, through which alone the language could be approached, must be preserved by copying. Sometimes the scribe wrote an execration upon the margin of a gross heathen passage, to show the pious horror with which he shrank from his task. Sometimes he lingered over the tales of Carthage and of Troy with a delight that was half against his conscience. Sometimes he was pure pagan at heart, even if Christian in belief, and, safe in the monastery from the hateful outside world of terror and pillage, he found his true life amid these gracious reminders of a calmer, a more ordered, and a

more beautiful society. Or, again, he copied like a machine, ignorant and careless of any real import to his task. The work was by no means constant in quality or value. The influence of one scholarly superior might be felt in the scriptoria of a dozen monasteries. A period of ignorant oversight or lax discipline would result in the loss of the choicest treasures. But for all that, the manuscripts were copied—copied while roving chiefs became princes of states—copied while their semblance of civilization was, in turn, swept away by fresh hordes of barbarians—copied while half-savage feudal chiefs ruled with iron hand over their wretched dependents—copied while the crusading frenzy swept men and even children into its path of disillusion and death. The eastern Empire, safe for the time by reason of its strategic site, became more and more isolated from the desolated West. Greek came to be an unknown tongue, even to the great scholars of Europe. The Byzantine scribes preserved the Greek literature, and the time of the revival of Greek scholarship was to come, and come gloriously. But for all the classic inspiration which reached our forefathers during the early formative years of their national life we are indebted to the Latin literature, as preserved by the scribes of the monasteries of the West.

Well may the imagination love to dwell upon those isles of peace amid the storm-tossed sea of the Dark Ages. Often situated amid scenes of the greatest natural beauty, those quiet cells, those fair cloistered gardens must have breathed of the very peace of God to the sensitive souls that shrank from war's carnage. It was an expensive haven, and we shall never know how much of finest strain was bred out of European races by the stern process of selection that made monks and nuns out of all the gentle and the thoughtful. Perhaps the great philosophies of India may show us what all the Aryan races should have accomplished in abstract thought. But even so, Europe had a refuge when the outside world grew too bitter, and she has never produced a race of thinkers who have learned to cringe or to despair.

Of all the purely literary classic authors, Virgil was by far the most popular and influential throughout the Middle Ages. Various reasons led to this result. First, so far as the scribes had any definite purpose in their labors, it was to save the schools, and Virgil has

always been a pedagogical favorite. A freedman of Atticus, a man who must have been almost, if not quite, as old as Virgil himself, expounded the poet in his school, and from that day to this, perhaps no sun has dawned which has not seen a schoolboy bending over his Virgil. But this was not all. The most enlightened scholars of the Middle Ages wished to preserve the best of the old, and turn it to the use of the Christian literature. Is it strange that the men who were trying to save a great literary tradition should make Virgil their model? And it was by no means mere servile following of an older taste. Repeatedly the leaders of the church protest against the waste of time upon the heathen poet, but own his exceeding charm. In the Middle Ages men found in this many-sided poet an appeal that does not, in the same measure, reach those who came either before or after. His classic learning and diction, when the tides of barbarism swirled around every school and cloister; the delight of his narrative, amid the aridity of the schoolmen and the brutalities of real life; the glories of his prophetic vision, at a time when men's hearts were like to die within them; and above all, since this made all the rest available to a world that was slowly rising to a better life, an essential purity and soundness of moral fiber. He was never a lost classic. No portion of his authentic works ever sank into oblivion. His influence upon the thoughts of men was pre-eminent to a degree hard to understand in these days of many masters. There are many evidences of his unique position. He took rank with the Sibyl as worthy, in spite of his paganism, of a place in Christian art. *Sortes Vergilianae* seemed like the book of fate as late as the time of Charles I of England. A characteristic tradition has it that St. Paul visited the poet's grave at Naples and bursting into tears, exclaimed, "What would I not have made of thee had I found thee still alive, O greatest of the poets!"

A curious body of Virgilian myths sprang up in the later Middle Ages, significant from an utter dissociation with the Virgil of Roman days, which proves the widespread veneration of his name, even among the ignorant. Virgil became a magician, whose adventures suggest, now the old folklore of the German forests, and again the wild tales brought by returned crusaders from the land of the Arabian Nights. In one, Virgil finds an enchanted casket, out of which 80,000 demons tumble, and swarm around him demanding

something to do. Virgil's quick wit saves him from being torn in pieces, for he sends them into the forest to build a great road. It has been suggested that we have here the myth of some old Roman highway, whose construction seemed to the men of mediaeval Europe to surpass mortal powers. In another story, Virgil finds a devil in a bottle, and sets him free upon his promise to put the poet in possession of the magical book of Solomon. But the devil, once set free from his prison, straightway grows to huge proportions, and Virgil, alarmed, but not deprived of his cleverness, casts such doubt upon the ability of the devil to get into the bottle, that the stupid adversary proves it by condensing himself again and creeping in; whereupon Virgil claps in the stopper, but keeps the magic book! It is said that to this day the children in Poland play a game like our "Simon says, 'Thumbs up,'" in which the leader begins, "Daddy Virgil says, 'Do as I do.'" It would be interesting, if it were possible, to trace the real history of our own nursery jargon, "Queen Dido's dead."

But the time came when the men of the Dark Ages might look for the morning. As we have seen the morning star, while the sky is still dark, seem to gather into its one glowing radiance all the scattered points of brightness that illumined the night, so before the dawn of the Renaissance shone the star of Dante. It was by no accident, and because of no superficial reminiscence of the sixth *Aeneid* that Dante chose Virgil as his guide through the "regions dolorous." The Mantuan is in very truth the master of the Florentine bard. We are told that Dante quotes Virgil 200 times. Virgil is to Dante "the gentile sage who all things knew," "the glory of the Latin race," "the honor of all science and all wit." The connection is not mechanical, it is vital. Turn to the intense passage where Dante meets Beatrice, where the perfunctory and the formal must needs shrivel and dissolve in the white heat of the poet's soul. Even here, yes, here especially, does Dante cling to the thought and presence of his guide:

Ministers and messengers of life eternal.
They all were saying, "Benedictus qui venis,"
And, scattering flowers above and round about,
"Manibus o date lilia plenis."

Thus in the bosom of a cloud of flowers
 Which from those hands angelical ascended,
 And downward fell again inside and out,
 Over her snow-white veil with olive cinct
 Appeared a lady under a green mantle,
 Vested in color of the living flame.

.

As soon as on my vision smote the power
 Sublime, that had already pierced me through
 Ere from my boyhood I had yet come forth,
 To the left hand I turned with that reliance
 With which the little child turns to his mother,
 When he has fear, or when he is afflicted,
 To say unto Virgilius: "Not a drachm
 Of blood remains in me that doth not tremble;
I know the traces of the ancient flame."
 But us Virgilius of himself deprived
 Had left, Virgilius, sweetest of all fathers,
 Virgilius, to whom I for safety gave me:

.

"Dante, because Virgilius has departed
 Do not weep yet, do not weep yet awhile!"

If Dante represented at once the climax and the passing of mediaevalism, Petrarch is well described as the "first modern man." It was largely through the influence of Petrarch that the rediscovery of the Greek classics, in which he took so prominent a part, did not break the continuity of the influence of the Latin, but that Virgil and Cicero, whom he calls "the two eyes of his discourse," have been the leading textbooks for every subsequent student of Latin; and he, too, made Virgil the model of the modern epic.

More than two centuries after Petrarch, Tasso, in his great epic of the Crusades, *Jerusalem Delivered*, shows the vitality of the Virgilian tradition in literature. His theme was entirely of the new, anti-pagan world, but, as an epic poet, he is the disciple of the Mantuan. One example will suffice. I quote from Wiffen's translation of *Jerusalem Delivered* (xv, 42, 43), which should be compared with the *Aeneid*, i. 159-68. It is a familiar instance of parallel passages, but very significant for our theme.

In one, they find a lone, sequestered place,
 Where, to a crescent curved, the shore extends
 Two moony horns, that in their sweep embrace
 A spacious bay—a rock the port defends;
 Inward it fronts, and broad to ocean bends
 Its back, whereon each dashing billow dies,
 When the wind rises, and the storm descends;
 Whilst here and there two lofty towers arise,
 Whose towers, far out at sea, salute the sailor's eyes.

Safe sleep the silent seas beneath; above,
 Black arching woods o'ershade the circled scene;
 Within, a grotto opens in the grove,
 Pleasant with flowers, with moss, with ivies green,
 And waters warbling in the depths unseen;
 Needed nor twisted rope nor anchor there
 For weary ships: into that so serene
 And sheltered hermitage the maiden fair
 Entered, her slender sails unfurling to the air.

The time would fail to tell of this all-pervading influence at work upon English poets and men of letters. Chaucer was a contemporary of Petrarch, and made three visits to Italy when the Renaissance was in its early glory. By the time of Shakespeare translations were so abundant and so excellent that his "small Latin and less Greek" could not debar him from the classic thought; while, as it seems to me, we need not confine him wholly to these sources. Shakespeare need not have been a great scholar to have read Virgil, at least, in the original. There was a grammar school in Stratford, and in those days a grammar school did not mean mother-tongue, and bookkeeping, and manual training, and nature-study, *ad infinitum*. It meant Latin, and Latin meant Virgil. Was there nothing vital to carry from those schoolboy studies? Even in our day we have seen boys and girls stirred by the Virgilian charm—and boys and girls whose power of imaginative assimilation is measurably less than that of Shakespeare! At any rate, he has the tradition:

On such a night stood Dido with a willow in her hand,
 Upon the wild sea-shore, and waved her love
 To come again to Carthage,

as Lorenzo says to Jessica, with a playfulness that shows familiar ground.

And the tradition continued. It was to English gentlemen who loved the classics that Ben Jonson and Dryden and Pope made their appeal. Milton is almost a sealed book without Virgil. It was Milton who rescued the pastoral form from the service of mere prettiness, and wedded its delicate beauty to stern English ethical thought. But "Lycidas" means Virgil, with Theocritus; and to both the great pastoral poets Milton owns his debt in the graceful lines:

O fountain Arethuse, and thou honored flood,
Smooth-sliding Mincius, crowned with vocal reeds.

But it is in the *Paradise Lost* that the Virgilian influence upon English verse reaches high tide. Whether in form, as in the introduction and invocation:

Of man's first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world, and all our woe,
.
.
.
Sing, heavenly Muse,

or the content, as the rivers of Hades:

Along the banks
Of four infernal rivers, that disgorge
Into the burning lake their baleful streams—
Abhorred Styx, the flood of deadly hate;
Sad Acheron of sorrow, black and deep;
Cocytus, named of lamentation loud
Heard on the rueful stream; fierce Phlegethon,
Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.
Far off from these, a slow and silent stream,
Lethe, the river of oblivion, rolls
Her watery labyrinth; whereof who drinks,
Forthwith his former state and being forgets,
Forgets both joy and grief, pleasure and pain,

or the service of sound to sense, as:

On a sudden open fly,
With impetuous recoil and jarring sound,
The infernal doors, and on their hinges grate
Harsh thunder,

it is the old story, and the literature of Puritan England repeats the experiences of the early Christian Fathers. Even while throwing

off the evils of the old, literary continuity is held with a strong grasp, and the classic poet whose gold best endures the new crucible is Virgil.

The Virgilian lines and phrases of Tennyson show us that the influence of the Mantuan did not stop with Milton. Sir Bedivere stands on the margin of the mystic lake with Arthur's sword "Excalibur" in his hand, hesitating to throw it at the King's behest,

This way and that dividing the swift mind

—a literal translation of *Aeneid* iv. 285:

Atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc dividit illuc.

In *The Princess* we have:

The moan of doves in immemorial elms,

as in *Eclogue* i. 58, 59:

Nec tamen interea raucae, tua cura, palumbes,
Nec gemere aëria cessabit turtur ab ulmo.

We all know Virgil's story—how only by the power of the magic golden bough could Aeneas make his way through the dim and fearful approaches to the dwellings of the mighty dead. It was reserved for Tennyson to see the marvelous fitness of the idea to the poet who conceived it—he is himself the golden bough, the magic token, whose charm opens to us that shadowy kingdom of the dead which else were closed to us forever:

Light among the vanished ages, star that gildest yet this phantom shore;
Golden branch amid the shadows, kings and realms that pass to rise no more;
Now thy forum roars no longer, fallen every purple Caesar's dome—
Though thine ocean-roll of rhythm sound forever of Imperial Rome.

I have tried, with such slight touches as I could, to bring to our thought some conception of the continuity of the influence of Virgil—how it reaches back to the very lifetime of the poet, and has grown into the inmost substance of English literary thought. We of these days have seen a new thing under the sun—we have seen the breaking of this chain. Now, for the first time since the poems were penned, is it possible that a man should be, not only highly trained, but even liberally educated, and yet know nothing of Virgil. We cannot help this, and perhaps we may not regret it. The complexity of modern

life calls for varied means of culture; we would not turn the wheels of progress backward. But more than ever, it behooves us, who are, as it were, the ministers of the old temple, to know for ourselves, and, as far as possible, to show our pupils, what it is that has given Virgil his royal place among the ancestors of our intellectual life. We need not fear to own that it is in part his diction that has made him the favorite of the schoolmasters, and so perpetuated his fame. This is an age of plain speech, but slovenly, and sometimes it seems that all the beauties and fine distinctions which the ages have crystalized into our English speech are like to deliquesce into amorphous slang. We may still find profit in the study of a master of words, and it is still true that the teacher will find that he has undermined his own foundation when he tries to make Virgil popular by a superficial treatment. But it was not Virgil's syntax and prosody that moved the tears of St. Augustine, that made Dante his disciple and Milton his follower. If there is something here for our time too—and I think there is—nay, if he has that which our age greatly lacks—and I think he has—let us try to find it and show it forth. We have some advantages over our immediate predecessors. In the last generation came the reaction from the traditional, unquestioning veneration for the poet, and a tide of harsh and unsympathetic criticism set in, which seemed likely, at one time, to carry away the ancient landmarks. But this mood has been followed by one of more intelligent and independent appreciation, and a certain modernizing of our apprehension of him. In some respects perhaps, Virgil is better understood by us than by his contemporaries. Roman cruelty would be slow indeed to comprehend his tenderness, his ever-present sense of "the tears of things," the pathos and pity which invest even the doomed of the gods, like Dido and Turnus. They would better understand the perfect technique of his verses, but we, with our modern sense of the beauty and ideal significance of the outer world, may dwell with even more delight on his "fields a-blossom in the sunshine," his drooping, rain-filled poppies, his "rivers undergliding ancient walls." Our hearts cannot swell with the pride of his countrymen at his grand forecasts of "the long glories of majestic Rome," but the perspective of the centuries shows far more clearly just what it is that gives Virgil the right to his place as the national

poet of the mother of the nations—I mean his deep and true insight into the real mission of Rome at her ideal best—the mission of a state set to call men from the savage, unordered, and disintegrating ways of life, to organize them under law, to conserve their achievements by custom, and to make their progress perpetual.

Below these things, what are Virgil's elemental ideas? I quote Professor Santayana of Harvard: "Agriculture, with its cosmic emotions, nationality, with its deep springs and its sacred responsibilities." And I would add: "Duty, with its paramount claim upon the life of man." The natural life, patriotism, duty—have we Americans of the twentieth century yet outgrown our need of thoughts like these?

HAUPTMANN'S GRIECHISCHER FRUEHLING^{*}

BY W. A. OLDFATHER
Urbana, Ill.

Hellas has thrice within modern times been visited by distinguished men of letters belonging to as many different nations, and each has left eloquent and impressive memorials of his impressions of land and people. First the Vicomte de Chateaubriand in 1806, then Lord Byron in 1809 and 1810, and finally, nearly a century later, March and April 1907, the Silesian poet-dramatist Gerhart Hauptmann. In our eager searchings after classical allusions, reminiscences, and word-echoes among dead authors, it may not be entirely time misspent to observe how the land and memory of the Hellenes have a compelling power on this leader of modern letters who is still in the full vigor of life.

It were superfluous here to analyze closely the characteristics of such universally admired works as the *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*, or the *Childe Harold* and other poems of Byron's Greek cycle; only certain salient features of their general attitude toward nature in that land are of peculiar interest for the contrast they afford with the work of Hauptmann's. Chateaubriand, with the sentimental melancholy of a nature in which the old was not yet dead nor the new as yet born into full self-consciousness, an attitude which has perhaps wrongly been called purely egoistic, felt himself to be the central figure in every landscape and ruin, in which alone they had meaning or significance. For him as for all romanticists Nature was either a background or a mirror for his own emotions. Take for example the eloquent passage on Eleusis and Salamis:

^{*} Gerhart Hauptmann, *Griechischer Frühling*. Fünfte Auflage. Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1908. Pp. 266. M. 6.50.

In this connection a few misprints might be noted which should not have got so far as the "fünfte Auflage": Regenböen (11); Appollo (192) and appollinisch (191, 202); the letter *h* seems to make trouble somewhat as in late Latin, thus: Mitridates (53); Tyest (219); Thegea (228); Tymian (190) and Thymian (elsewhere); Lykabethos (88) and Likabethos (125) also occur.

I have nothing to say of Eleusis after so many other travelers, except that I strolled about in the midst of its ruins, that I walked down to the harbor and paused to gaze upon the Strait of Salamis. The festivals and the glory had departed; there was the same silence on land and on sea; no more acclamations, no more chants, no more pomp along the coast, no more shouts of warriors, no more shock of galleys, no more confusion on the waves. My imagination was unable to picture at one moment the religious procession of Eleusis, at another to repeople the beach with the innumerable host of Persians who gazed upon the battle of Salamis. Eleusis is, to my feeling, the most venerable spot in Greece, for there they taught the unity of God, and at the same time this place witnessed the grandest effort that men have ever made in the defense of their liberty. . . .

Night alone could drive me from the shore. The waves which the evening breeze had raised broke upon the strand, and their strength died away about my feet: I walked for some time along the sea that laves the tomb of Themistocles; in all probability I was at that moment the only person in Greece that was thinking of that great man (pp. 129 f.).

It is not that Chateaubriand is insensible to the beauties of Nature; that were absurd to suggest of the author of *Atala* and *Les Natchez*. He sees them indeed, but only rarely do they seem to deserve special comment, while any pile of ruins or a few scratches on a block will call him aside to meditations on the passing of human ambitions or dilettante speculations on the location of some ancient temple or village.

He went to the East to experience new emotions in spots that were surcharged with the memories of a glorious past; it seemed almost a desecration for the present to intrude upon his canvas in his more serious moments of reflection. For him the past existed only in ruined stone or printed page, there was no close and intimate association of land and people so that the thought of one always called forth the other. And so Sparta is for him a combination of beauty and sadness as he stands amid ruins (p. 97); Argos calls up *omnia vanitas* (p. 112); Corinth is a complex of literary and historical memories, where his last thought is of a similar fate that may overtake France some day (pp. 116-21); the Piræus is mere desolation (pp. 159 f.). Typical of this one-sided view of Hellas, as well as of his exquisite imagery and landscape-painting, but unfortunately too long to quote here, is the scene at Sunium just before he left the country forever (p. 179).

In much the same spirit as Chateaubriand did Lord Byron turn

to Hellas. The matchless fire and brilliancy of his eloquence played about this, his favorite theme. It seemed impossible for him to sink into the banal or commonplace when he sang of Greece. His imagination was fired by the glories of the past and revolted at the present's ignoble decay. His personal feeling likewise appears in every landscape, but not so much in melancholy lament or self-centered musings. His nationality and his personality made impossible mere passive complaints. Such humiliation and decay were too unnatural, they must not and cannot endure. He was a Zechariah of Hellas and not, like Chateaubriand, its Jeremiah. For him in such moods the ruined Parthenon is not an object of beauty. He sees rather

. . . its broken arch, its ruined wall,
Its chambers desolate, and portals foul (*Childe Harold*, II, 6),

and feels that

Even the worm at last disdains her shattered cell (*Ibid.*, II, 5).

Greece is for him a land of death:

Cold is the heart, fair Greece, that looks on thee
Nor feels as lovers o'er the dust they loved (*Ibid.*, II, 15),

and that superb passage in the *Giaour* beginning with

He that hath bent him o'er the dead

on to

'Tis Greece, but living Greece no more,
So coldly sweet, so deadly fair,
We start, for soul is wanting there;

and again

Fair Greece! sad relic of departed worth!
Immortal, though no more; though fallen, great! (*Childe Harold*, II, 73).

Mountain and sea and river speak to Byron, but they tell him simply of the heroes of Salamis and Thermopylae and Marathon, such as who

. . . fell devoted but undying.
The very gale their names seemed sighing;
The waters murmured of their name;
The woods were peopled with their fame;
.
Their spirits wrapp'd the dusky mountain,
Their memory sparkled o'er the fountain;
The meanest rill, the mightiest river
Roll'd mingling with their fame forever (*Siege of Corinth*, 406 ff.).

Byron was not, of course, blind to natural beauty in Hellas. At times he realized it vividly. "Eternal summer gilds them yet"—those Isles of Greece, "But all, except their sun, is set." The opening lines of the *Giaour* are a graceful tribute to the charm of the country, and especially those fine stanzas of *Childe Harold* (II, 85 ff.) beginning

And yet how lovely in thy age of woe,
Land of lost gods and godlike men, art thou!

But the emphasis remains yet the same. Nature in Hellas serves Byron mainly as the landscapes in the old missionary hymn whose conventional phrases but serve to point the moral that

. . . . every prospect pleases
And only man is vile.

It seems as though it had been reserved for Hauptmann in contrast with his great predecessors to discover, or at least to describe, Hellenic landscapes as of intrinsic value for their own sake. The country is for him not a mere memorial to some martial deed or artistic achievement, keenly as are these appreciated; it does more than suggest meditations on the vicissitudes of fortune or awake the ignoble to emulation of a glorious past. No, these mountains and springs and trees and flowers exist for themselves, they are objects of a wondrous life and beauty quite apart from historic memories, and though they win a sort of eerie charm when the rapt mind feels every rock and blade of grass haunted by a glory that is no longer, they are more than mere suggestions, they interpret, they give form and color to the wraithy memories, and through and with them cast their spell.

Hauptmann has either not seen, or else he has disregarded, much that archaeologist and philologist would consider of cardinal value. But he came to see with his own eyes and not another's, and he has given us Hellas as he felt it. What was dead about the past had no interest for him, what lived and came to rebirth in himself, that was what he cared for; and as for the gap of centuries, that was no real hindrance, for he remarks,

When something is past and over, then it is of utterly no consequence for our powers of imagination whether it happened yesterday or more than two thousand years ago, especially when it is something humanly quite conceivable (pp. 243 f.).

It is true that he visited Hellas in March and April and naturally did not find the land as dead and dry as did Chateaubriand, who passed through in August, and it is likewise true that the country is less desolate, the contrast with the past not so sharp as a century ago. But that is not all: it is much more the eye that saw and the heart that felt which have made the Hellas of Hauptmann so different from that of his predecessors.

And yet you cannot believe that it is a mere fantasy land of the poet's own imaginings, a country without latitude or longitude as one of his German reviewers has remarked. Quite the contrary, even to one who has never been in Greece he seems to speak with the exact and convincing tones of a man who has observed keenly and put down only what he saw and felt, and it is worth while to notice just what that was. Flowers are for him the one never-failing charm of every landscape. "Why," cries he at Corfu, "will people persist in ascribing to flowers animal or even human qualities, and not rather make gods of them?" He calls them "these little divine beings, whose rare love-charm ever draws from us new cries of ecstasy" (p. 24), and again "Paradise will be a land full of strange rare flowers. The noble anemones of Corfu help one to foretastes of another world. You almost feel as though you were on a strange planet" (p. 40). But it is not only flowers; the grasses appeal also (pp. 34, 44, etc.), and trees, especially the gnarled oaks of Elis (pp. 68 f.). Mountains dominate all his landscapes, and with the shepherd mountain folk he feels the deepest sympathy. On the other hand the sea, which most travelers dwell upon, falls entirely into the background. Hauptmann is not at home there, and from his bizarre fantasies about sea-sickness at the beginning of the book, anyone can see he is not a good sailor. It is rather a landsman that has visited Hellas, and the earth, its life and odors are what he is best prepared to understand and value. The most perfect picture of this almost passionate absorption in the life of nature is that scene where he throws himself on the ground in the woods between Athens and Eleusis:

I am lying stretched out under pines not far from the convent of Daphni on the mountain-side. The ground is covered with brown pine needles. Between these needles very fine delicate grasses have pushed through to the light. But I came here enticed by soft carpets of white daisies. They drew me on as a group

of lovely children that you see nearby and with whom you want to play. Now I am lying here, and all about me on the ground the numberless little white sisters nod their diminutive heads. It is not a forest, it is quite tiny whitlow grass in which I am a monster, a real mountain. And yet they pour out a blessing that I have never felt since the days of my childhood. . . .

I am lying stretched out on Olympian earth. I feel that I have returned to the beginnings of my childhood dreams. Yes, something nobler had been withheld for me! . . . and I stretch out my arms wide and press my face gently like an Antaeus between these flowers into this beloved earth. The delicate grass bents quiver about me. The low tips of the pines breathe softly and secretly above me. In many a wise have I lain on my back or on my face in the sunshine, but never came such a power from the earth, such magic, never out of the hard rock, whose angles my limbs had to feel, did such a passionate joy pass into my being. . . . Herds of sheep and goats, which wander over the gray stones of the valley-sides, greet from here and there with their ringing bells, which tinkle melodiously like the tumult of a babbling brook (pp. 121 f.).

And out of this rich sympathy with nature comes the serious religious tone that pervades the work. Not theological Christianity perhaps, though the Christ-figure makes the profoundest appeal to the poet's heart, and as he walks by Eleusis he thinks of Galilee and the Jesus who would make fishers of men. And so he feels the potent spell of the old religion of Hellas, the innumerable spirits that haunted every nook and cranny of the land.

Why are we afraid and despise as trivial to sing of our native landscapes, mountains, rivers, and valleys, yes, even to mention their names except in poetical images? Because all these things, which, as being Nature, have been regarded as works of the devil for a thousand years, have never truly been reconsecrated. But here gods and demigods wedded with every white mountain-peak, every vale and valley, every tree and shrub, every river and spring, have made everything holy. Holy was all that is above and on and in the earth. And round about her the sea was likewise holy. And so complete was this hallowing, that the lateborn, milleniums too late, the barbarian still today—and even in a railway coach—is permeated in profoundest wise therewith.

You must look for trees where trees grow; for gods not in a godless land, on godless ground. Here gods and heroes are products of the soil. They have grown up for the countryman like his fruits. The husbandman's soul was strong and naïve. Strong and naïve were his gods (pp. 84 f.).

The Acropolis of Athens, in a passage of great power, fills him with a deep, religious awe, "the strangest, most mysterious, and at once most meaningful rock in all the world.

Even today, far from all superstition of that kind that in antiquity lives and creates fancies among the folk, I feel deeply yet the power, the creative power of this belief, and though it is generally my own will that seeks to revivify the died-out world of gods, here, in view of this towering cliff, there springs up instantaneously, almost involuntarily, an ecstasy of the divine presence. . . . I do not hesitate to affirm that all the tragic poets, including Euripides, deep as they may have been separated from the rude naïve beliefs of the mass, were nevertheless, here at the foot and within the domination of this ghost-rock, thoroughly impregnated with the fear of God or of the Gods, and with a belief in their reality.

The Acropolis is a ghost-rock. In this theater of Dionysus ghosts stalked to and fro. In countless clefts in this reddish-violet rock dwelt gods like rock-swallows. It is a close-pressed over-peopled god-settlement; for the Athenians had yet, according to Pausanias, far greater zeal for the gods than all other Greeks. The way in which they founded asylum after asylum for all possible gods points toward fear. While I brood over such thoughts, I hear again behind me the bird of Pallas out of some cranny utter its doleful whimpering cry into the day, and imagine how at this call a shudder might well have passed over the breathless listening thousands (pp. 99 f.).

Another effect of this profound self-sinking into the natural poetry of the land is the creative impulse that it awakens, a sort of living into the ancient spirit. And as in Corfu the bleat of a goat that has been startled by the great reddish-brown sail of a boat coming up close to the shore brings to him the old fear of pirates which the lonely coast-dweller feels (pp. 44 f.), so at Athens on the Areopagus as he hears the rockswallows of the neighboring Acropolis:

I shut my eyes and feel myself profoundly and weirdly affected by the twittering. It comes to me as I softly repeat to myself: "The twittering rock: the twittering gods: the twittering rock of the gods"—as though I have felt something out of the soul of the naïve Greek of that time when men still honored the gods. Perhaps, I say to myself, if one can revive a sentiment once dead, I have thereby made also a small but real discovery.

And suddenly I remember the *Birds* of Aristophanes, and the joy of a discoverer suffuses me in an intense degree. I imagine that with this feeling, "the twittering rock, the twittering gods"—at the view of the citadel, the germ of that divine work first came to life in the soul of that freest of the Greeks. I imagine that perhaps I am living anew the purest, joyfullest moment, a creations-act of his true Dionysiac being (pp. 105 f.).

And yet this is only one side of the book, Nature and her appreciation. It is filled with beautiful fragments of criticism revealing fine

spiritual and literary insight, of which let the following suffice as examples. As he looks on the Pythian stadium:

I believe it is only from the viewpoint of the stadium that the Greek Soul opens out into all its noblest glory and wealth: from this source her purest virtues sprang. What was the Greek's world without friendly contest and the stadium? What without Olympic olive-branch and victor's chaplet? Just that same earthbound chaos of brooding, warring, upstreaming forces that other nations represent it. . . .

One could not but speak of games, call up his own thoughts of the years of childhood and youth, and remember that turning of the way when he was forced into a discouraged and joyless world, which put a ban upon games, the highest gift of the gods. One might point out that more children are murdered among us than were ever murdered in any Bethlehem by any Herod, for we do not let the child grow up, we kill the child already within the child, to say nothing of letting it grow in the youth and the man (pp. 177 f.).

And this at Delphi in a vision of the blood-drenched altars of that shrine:¹

Otherwise than at Athens, deeper and more dreadful and with greater force does tragedy unfold its meaning here in rocky Pytho under the burning heat of the daystar, as the shuddering realization of unerring blood-decrees of the powers of destiny: no true tragedy without murder. . . . Out of the depths of the blood-spring under me, dull stunning madness arose. As you visually reproduced the dreadful demands of the otherwise beneficent god in the sacrifice of the goat, and in the immediately following loftier representation of a god-filled dramatic art, the rocks gave back the fearful cry of the human sacrifice under the hand of the avenger, the dull fall of the avenging ax. The chorus cries of fear, of threatening, of terrifying helpless anxiety, of wild despair, of jubilant blood triumph.

It cannot be denied, tragedy means Enmity, Persecution, Hate and Love like Life madness; tragedy means Fear, Need, Danger, Pain, Anguish, Torment, means Treachery, Crime, Meanness, means Murder, Bloodthirst, Incest, Slaughter. . . . To behold a true Tragedy meant to look, almost stiffened into stone, into the face of Medusa (pp. 169 f.).

But these excerpts are too long already. Enough has been shown of the treasures of this little book, which richly deserves a translation into English for a wider audience. Let one final paragraph be quoted, of rare beauty both as a tribute and a prophecy like Rohde's stirring

¹ The influence of Nietzsche's *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Mystik* is very noteworthy in all that Hauptmann says in this book on the drama, music, and artistic impulses.

desinunt ista, non pereunt at the end of the *Psyche*. Hauptmann is standing on the Acropolis in moonlight:

And in those days as now, there swelled up out of the city as out of the tents of some pavilion of joy, song and cry. One needs not to shut the eyes to forget that that dull roar out of the depths is the noise of Athens of today; rather one feels difficulty in realizing it. In this hour, in the radiance of the infinite charm of the god's citadel the old pulse throbs and trembles and rushes in everything for the true pilgrim. And it is borne in on me with a strange force how the Greek spirit is buried but not dead. It is very deep, but buried only in the souls of living men, and when men once come to know all the strata of marble and dross beneath which the Greek soul lies buried, as they know the strata above the Mycenaean, Trojan, or Olympic fragments of a culture embodied in stone and bronze, then will come perhaps also for that living inheritance of Greece the great hour of its uncovering (pp. 129 f.).

GREEK PLAYS IN AMERICA^{*}

BY D. D. HADNS
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When this investigation was begun some three months ago, I had no idea that it would cover so much territory. It has been as thorough as time would permit, and queries have been sent to considerably more than a hundred institutions. At least one letter has been sent to each state and territory, and an attempt has been made to secure information in regard to every Greek and Latin play that has been staged in the United States. Some performances have, undoubtedly, been passed over, and I shall be very glad to hear of any plays or dramatizations which have been omitted. Many questions of interest which it was hoped could be taken up, music, dancing, costuming, comparative popularity of plays, etc., must necessarily be omitted on account of lack of time, and the discussion must take on a more or less statistical form.

Among the reasons for the production of Greek plays, two stand out above all the rest. The first is, the desire to stimulate interest in Greek, a thing which, unfortunately, is necessary under present conditions. The "utilitarianism" of the age tends to put in the background the merely cultural studies, and we have all been forced to combat this tendency in every way in our power—to be "all things to all men that we might save some"—for Greek. The Greek play, then, has been one of the instruments employed to call attention to the value of the study of the literature of Hellas. The result has been beneficial; the general public has been interested as well as the student body of the institution which has tried this plan. Professor Bergin of St. Xavier's College, Cincinnati, voices the common feeling when he writes: "It [i.e., the performance of *Antigone*] aroused an interest in Greek studies. The amount of talk showed that an impression had been made, and the nature of the remarks indicated a

^{*}Read at the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, at Chicago, April 30, 1910.

kindlier feeling toward Greek studies and an increase of enlightenment as to their educational value." Dr. Joseph Daniels, formerly professor of Greek at Olivet, also writes: "It was an inspiration not only to the actors but to all students, and the best kind of an advertisement for classical study." The Latin plays have had a like effect. Professor Denny of Drake says in reference to the *Menaechmi* there: "I think it did a good deal to popularize the Latin work." And Professor Long of Northwestern, in speaking of the *Phormio*, says: "The most gratifying thing was the way it appealed to the students."

Another reason for the production of Greek plays is the belief in their dramatic power and the desire to show to a modern audience the masterpieces of a civilization which, though it passed from the stage long ago, has still a mighty influence on the life of the present. It has been well said: "Greek genius is universal, the accidental features fall naturally into the background and the image presented to us is a typical embodiment of some permanent fact or aspect of human life. Hence the powerful vitality of all that has been bequeathed to us by Greece." In nothing is this truer than in Greek tragedy. Oedipus' fond farewell to his children, or Antigone's last address to the sun ere she departs to the "vaulty tomb," are as effective today as when they were first spoken under the blue Attic sky. Our experience at Wabash proves the truth of this statement. When Oedipus, blinded, weighed down by sorrow, entreated Creon to protect his tender daughters, there was hardly a dry eye "in the house." So strong was the effect that Creon came behind the scenes, danced up and down, and waved his scarlet robes in ecstasy about him, crying: "The whole gang's weepin'! the whole gang's weepin'!" And when, in the *Antigone*, Creon knelt by the corpse of his son lamenting the obstinacy that had brought this curse on his head, the audience sat motionless, hardly drawing breath as the words of bitter woe fell from his lips. And throughout both plays there was scarcely a stir, and the spectators sat forward in their seats listening intently to every word, while, at the end, there was a moment of absolute quiet and then the applause began slowly as if it were a thing utterly out of place at such a solemn scene.

Elsewhere the same effect has been produced. Professor Goodwin in the introduction to Mr. Norman's book on the *Oedipus* at Harvard

says: "None were more surprised at the almost universal enthusiasm which the actual performance excited—none, indeed, were more surprised at the effect upon themselves—than those of us who should have understood best the power and grandeur of a tragedy of Sophocles." Mr. Sargent writes of the *Choephoroi* at the American Academy of Dramatic Arts: "There was overwhelming awe and esthetic pleasure." Professor Allen says of the *Eumenides* at the University of California: "The *Eumenides* made a tremendous impression. The audience sat literally breathless during the performance." And Professor Tyler in the book of *The Smith Play* writes: "Upon all the audience, whether they understood the Greek language or not, a deep impression was produced. They were rendered enthusiastic over the beauty and expressiveness of the Greek drama as thus exemplified."

In presenting plays from the Greek, America has followed the example of France and England. In France the first play, the *Antigone*, was given at Paris in 1844. Since that date a number of others have been staged by professional companies in the French capital, and the old Roman theater at Orange has seen many classical productions since the *Oedipus* was first presented there in 1888. This theater was restored in 1895, and yearly performances have been given since then. In regard to the English presentations, our Rhodes scholar, Mr. Pifer, has secured considerable information for me. The first of the great universities to attempt a Greek play was Oxford: the *Agamemnon* was given there in 1880 and repeated at Eton, Harrow, and London. Cambridge followed two years later with the *Ajax*, and plays have been given at one or the other university in nearly every year since that date. Bradfield College presented the *Alcestis* in 1882 and, beginning with 1890, has put on a play every two or three years in its open-air theater. In addition to these a dozen other colleges and professional companies have brought out plays on the stage.

In America, Harvard University has the honor of first introducing a Greek play to a modern audience. Professor Goodwin desired to mark the occasion of the opening of Sanders' Theater in 1876 by a performance of *Antigone*, but the idea was abandoned, and it was not until the fall of 1880 that it was revived. Work was begun at

once, and the first Greek play, the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, was publicly presented on May 17, 1881. The costumes were made in the studio of Mr. Millet, whose article in the first volume of the *Century* is of great interest to students of the dress of the Greek drama. It was a brilliant success, as was to be expected when the thorough training of the cast, which extended through the college year, is taken into consideration, and with men of such reputation in charge of the archaeological details of the production. Five performances were given to audiences which aggregated six thousand persons. So great interest was aroused that a professional company, under the management of Daniel Frohman, took it up in translation and played for two weeks in New York and Boston to large houses.

Harvard also presented the *Agamemnon* in the stadium in 1906, when Dr. Doerpfeld's theory of the stage was followed with perfect success. A dress rehearsal and two performances were given to audiences of about five thousand. Mr. Howells says of the first presentation: "The lowering heavens, the pale gloom of the day, the gusts of rain that fitfully came and went, were in rich accord with the somber tragedy of *Agamemnon*." Before the play began, there was a touch of comedy. A musician from Boston was some three-quarters of an hour late, and an ancient Greek with a very modern megaphone came out of the palace to announce the cause of the delay. The watchman walked back and forth on the tiled roof during most of this time, and his yawns and appealing glances toward the city not far away were quite amusing, while the laughter became, in the words of the "Spectator" in the *Outlook*: "not Aeschylean but truly Homeric when the musician finally appeared and dodged down under the altar of Dionysus with his suit case." And finally, the incense-bearer spilled the incense and, when the priest of Dionysus applied the torch, it would not burn, and, to quote Mr. Howells again: "Nothing remained for him but to pour his libation and retire with what dignity he could amidst our unseemly laughter. But this was really the last touch of malicious fortune, and for the rest the tragedy stood forth in its majestic gloom, as a king might who has dropped the disguise of a beggar's rags and lifted himself, awe-striking and awe-stricken, in front of his doom."

The Classical Club at Harvard also produced two scenes from the

Birds in May, 1901, and in 1909 the *Epitrepontes* of Menander, the latter at a private house in Cambridge. And Radcliffe College brought out a series of "Homeric Pictures" in 1894 and scenes from the *Iphigenia among the Taurians* in 1902.

The second play on the continent was given at Toronto University a year after the Harvard *Oedipus*. On April 11 the *Antigone* was staged and repeated in 1894. In 1899 the "Return of Odysseus," a dramatization from the *Odyssey*, was produced, and in 1902 the *Frogs*. The second play in the United States was the *Oedipus* at Notre Dame, Indiana, in June 1882. The idea originated three years before, but the burning of one of the university buildings prevented its execution until the class of 1882 took it up. The class of 1883 also gave the *Antigone*, the libretto being the work of the professor, Father Stoffel, the students setting the type and printing the book, as they did again in 1899, when the *Oedipus* was repeated. Through the courtesy of Father Schumacher, who took the part of "Her Royal Highness," Queen Jocasta, I have had the opportunity of examining the latter volume, which is a good specimen of the printer's art.

The first comedy, the *Acharnians*, was staged at the University of Pennsylvania in 1886. It was played at the Academy of Music at Philadelphia, the largest auditorium in that city, and the hall was well filled at both performances. Pennsylvania also gave the *Iphigenia among the Taurians* in 1903. The *Boston Transcript*, in speaking of the play, says: "By all outward tokens familiar to experienced observers, the audience followed the progress of the drama with absorbed interest. The actors on the stage seemed real human beings, not the demi-gods of Aeschylus nor the highly spiritualized personages of Sophocles. Of how many moderns in their treatment of character and episode did Euripides seem at the moment the fertile father! And throughout, the music of Professor Clark lent itself with supple felicity to the rhythmic contours of Euripides' verse, clarifying, adorning, and sharpening their outline and their tracery."

Smith was the first college for women to attempt a Greek play, when the class of 1889, under the direction of Professor Tyler, put on the *Electra* of Sophocles. Professor Tyler's book on *The Smith Play* is an interesting description of the preparations for the performance, the costumes manufactured by the girls themselves, the home-made

scenery, and the months of rehearsal for the chorus on the gymnasium floor, which had been marked out in squares to aid in the choral evolutions. In 1902 a less ambitious performance of the *Birds* was given in English, and in May of this year the *Alcestis* was put on in translation. The same year as the Smith *Electra*, Iowa College at Grinnell gave the first of their series of plays, some scenes from the *Oedipus*, presented quite informally in the original. Two years later they put on Sophocles' *Electra* in English, paying careful attention to all details of scenery and costume. This was followed in 1900 by the "Return of Odysseus" in Greek. The last play at Iowa was the *Antigone*, scenes from which were given last year before a small audience. In addition to the performances at Iowa College, plays have been given by two other institutions in the state. The *Iphigenia* was played under Professor Weller's direction at the State University, May 31 and June 1, 1907, in English. At Drake, Professor Kirk put on the *Antigone* May 20, 1908, in a translation made by his drama class, with the exception of the choral odes which were his own work. I have had the pleasure of reading the translation of the choruses, which is excellent. Professor Kirk also composed the music used for this rendition.

In 1892 the University of Nebraska presented the *Antigone*. The following year the same play was given at Vassar, the second play in Greek at a college for women. Vassar also gave the *Birds* in the spring of 1902 on the campus, and in 1907, when the *Iphigenia* was played, the original tongue was abandoned except for the choruses.

In Michigan the first play came in 1895, when Albion gave two performances of the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, and a little later in the same year the *Antigone* was played at Olivet under the direction of Dr. Joseph L. Daniels, now pastor of a church at Tryon, N.C. In 1900 Professor Goodrich again took up the Greek play at Albion and presented the Tauric *Iphigenia* on two nights to enthusiastic audiences.

Following Horace Greeley's advice, the Greek play idea "went west" in 1902. In that year Leland Stanford gave seven performances of the *Antigone*, three at Palo Alto, three in southern California, at Los Angeles, Pasadena, and Santa Barbara, and the last at the University of California. The audiences ranged from twelve hundred to two thousand, and the interest manifested was intense. Professor

Rolfe in the book of the play says: "The final outcome of the play has been a remarkable intensification, throughout the university and in many preparatory and high schools, of respect for classical studies and interest in them."

The following year witnessed the completion of the Greek theater at the University of California. Mr. Hearst's generosity made possible the construction of the theater in a hollow which had been used for class-day performances for some years. In that part of the campus where the spectators had sat under the shadow of the great eucalyptus and cypress trees the theater was built. The material used in its construction is concrete, and in form it resembles that at Epidaurus. The arc of the circle of seats is 250 feet and the scene is 150 feet long and 42 feet in height. In front of this is the Graeco-Roman stage which, as Professor Allen informs me, is an embarrassment in the production of a Greek play. In fact, in the *Eumenides* the orchestra was abandoned and chorus and cast occupied the stage together. The seating capacity is 8,000, and it was taxed to its utmost on the day the theater was dedicated by a performance of the *Birds*, September 24, 1903. The theater is used for many purposes: here are held class day exercises, French plays, Ben Greet performances, concerts, and addresses. The orchestra is paved with gravel in order to prevent damage when football rallies are held and bonfires kindled that light up the vast auditorium to its farthest corner. The second play in the theater was the *Ajax* in 1904, and the third, the *Eumenides*, was given on April 18, 1907. Of the three, this was the most successful. Professor Allen writes: "The *Eumenides* was a surprise to everyone. Every scene was not only dramatic but spectacular, and the effect on the audience was indescribable."

Returning to the East again, Rochester University, in addition to the "Return of Odysseus" in 1900, has put on the *Iphigenia* three times in a beautiful natural theater on the shores of Irondequoit Bay. It was given, with the omission of the chorus, in 1905, 1907, and 1908. No stage setting or scenery was employed, and the spectators sat on the sloping sides of a little valley looking out through the trees to the gleaming waters of the bay below, while the actors entered from behind the hillocks at the end of the natural amphitheater.

The *Oedipus Coloneus* has been tried but once in America, at St.

Joseph's College, Philadelphia, in May, 1905. The libretto published for the occasion is beautifully illustrated and is by far the best of those which have come to my hands. In April, 1907, Professor Bergin's class in the drama at St. Xavier's College, Cincinnati, gave a part of the *Antigone*. Originally intended as little more than a class exercise, it aroused such interest among the students that it resulted in a public performance before an audience of nearly a thousand. The only play in Ohio in addition to that at St. Xavier's was the *Antigone* at the Western Reserve College for Women in 1902. It was given in English by one of the fraternities, the choral odes being omitted.

Last year saw two performances of the *Alcestis* in Greek. The first was at the Randolph Macon College for Women, Virginia, the only institution in the South that has ever attempted a play in the original. Costumes, scenery, and music were the work of students and faculty. On March 19 of this year the *Antigone* was also given with the Mendelssohn music. Excellent little librettos were prepared for both performances by Miss Whiteside, who directed the two plays. The second rendition of *Alcestis* at the American International College, Springfield, Massachusetts, is especially interesting from the fact that the performers spoke their native tongue. It was under the direction of Miss Josephine Bowden, who says of it: "Only a few of the principal actors knew anything of the traditions of the Attic drama, but they all worked with quite patriotic enthusiasm and made their rendering of their parts very real."

All performances mentioned so far have been in the original, with the exceptions named. If there were time to discuss the relative merits of the original and translation as a medium for the presentation of a Greek tragedy, I should like to speak in defense of our mother tongue, since the ordinary spectator looks on the learning of so many lines of Greek as a "stunt," and sees in the performance only a spectacle. With us at Wabash, it would not be hard to commit the Greek in the four to five months spent in rehearsal each year, but I do not believe that the results would compensate for the additional labor involved, and I am sure that the spectators would not be moved so deeply by the power of the tragedy, were they compelled to follow the action by means of a libretto.

Although a professional company, inspired by the Harvard

Oedipus, was the first to introduce a Greek play in translation, it is to the West that we owe the real origin of Greek plays in English, and in the West we look to Beloit as the originator of the idea. Professor Wright is certainly correct in his statement: "Our little town has seen more Greek plays than any other city in America." The custom of a yearly play was inaugurated by Professor Emerson and was continued by Professor Wright, who succeeded to the Greek chair in the eighties. Since the first public reading in 1885, only five years have passed without a Greek play, and in one of these a Latin drama was given. During the first four years readings were given in unpretentious fashion in a private house. In 1889 the *Alcestis* was played in a quarry with costumes consisting of "himatia" of sheets. They were then transferred to the college chapel and later to the opera house, while stage, scenery, costumes, and music received full attention. The plays read during the early period were the *Antigone*, *Prometheus*, *Eumenides*, and *Seven against Thebes*. Those given with costume and scenery since the *Alcestis* have been: the *Antigone*, three times; the Tauric *Iphigenia*, three times; the *Alcestis*, three times; *Oedipus Tyrannus*, twice; Euripides' *Electra*, Sophocles' *Electra*, the Aulic *Iphigenia*, and the *Frogs*, once each. The *Oedipus* of 1895 was presented at the Central Music Hall, Chicago, under the auspices of the Beloit Alumni Association.

From the beginning the translations have been metrical and have been made by the drama classes, with some assistance from Professor Wright in touching up the uneven places. Librettos have been issued for a number of years, which do much credit to the classes and the professor. The plays have, in most cases, been given by the Sophomore class, but occasionally the whole department has joined in the undertaking when it was desired to have an especially good rendition. Beloit has certainly made a splendid record and one that should be an inspiration to those who are working for the future of the classics in America. One other institution in Wisconsin has followed the example set by Beloit. In the early years of the last decade Ripon staged the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, *Antigone*, and *Iphigenia*.

The first institution south of Mason and Dixon's line to attempt a Greek play was the University of the South at Sewanee. In 1892 the professor of Greek read the *Frogs*, which was fully illustrated

by tableau, while the choral parts were sung by a chorus. In 1893 the *Alcestis* was acted and the *Antigone*, *Oedipus*, and *Frogs* in the following three years, with choral odes in Greek for the last three. Eight performances of the five plays were given, including two of the *Antigone* at Nashville.

Professor F. A. Hall, now of Washington University, St. Louis, formerly at Drury College, was also one of those who early in the Greek play period began readings with his drama class. Although he brought out but one play, the *Antigone* at Drury in 1897, he conducted readings for seven years beginning in 1895. In that time the *Prometheus*, *Agamemnon*, and *Clouds* were read, and four "Homeric Recitals" held. Since going to Washington University, he has read Sophocles' *Electra* and *Oedipus Coloneus*, and has given four "Homeric Recitals" and an "Afternoon with Lucian." No costumes have been used except in the *Antigone*. An interesting bit of information in regard to the play, as well as the readings, is that the members of the cast made their own translations, choosing prose or verse as suited their individual preference.

In 1907 another of the few outdoor plays was given at Doane College, Nebraska, by the Senior class. The number in the class was seventeen, and, as they did not wish to go outside of their own membership, the chorus was reduced to six women, which necessitated some changes in the wording of the play.

The year 1908 witnessed two college performances in addition to those already mentioned, the *Agamemnon* at Emporia, Kansas, directed by Professor Wilkie, and the *Oedipus Tyrannus* on the campus of Wabash College. The *Agamemnon* was given three times, once before the state Classical Association, the second time to the public, and the last for the state Editorial Association. William Allen White says of the performance: "The young people of the College of Emporia have more spirit—more ginger, to use an expressive phrase—than any other student body in Kansas. They attempt things and actually do them—and do them well—that many larger colleges would hardly try. The production of *Agamemnon* is an admirable illustration. The thing is an undertaking to stagger a school like the State University; yet it was done so well that it would have done credit to any student body in the country."

Last year brought out more plays than any other. Four have already been spoken of. Four others were produced by schools. Bryn Mawr presented the *Medea* in Gilbert Murray's translation in May, and Wabash the *Antigone* in June. In Nashville the three girls' societies of the Peabody College for Teachers also gave the *Antigone*, the young ladies taking the parts of Creon, Haemon, etc. A little touch of comedy was added when the incense was thrown on too heavily and its fumes caused the performers to cough—the corpse included. Hosmer Hall, a St. Louis school for girls, also produced the *Alcestis* in the spring.

On February 1 of this year Clark College at Worcester, Massachusetts, celebrated the inauguration of President Sanford, and the *Oedipus Tyrannus* formed a part of the inauguration ceremonies. The chorus parts were not sung but recited, after the practice of the Deutsches Theater at Berlin, where modern versions of Greek dramas are being produced with marked success. Less than two weeks ago, on April 19, I had the privilege of attending the first production of the *Clouds* in this country at the University of Illinois. It was under the management of Professors Moss and Oldfather, and their translation, with its colloquial English, was exceptionally good. The cast carried their parts well, and the actor who took the part of Strepsiades was a star.

In managing, training, and arranging plays and dramatization from the Greek, two persons have been especially prominent, President Sargent of the American Academy of Dramatic Arts, and Mrs. Mussey, formerly Miss Mabel Hay Barrows. Mr. Sargent assisted at the Harvard *Oedipus*, trained the chief actors of the Frohman Company of 1881, acted as stage manager of the *Electra* at Smith and the *Antigone* at Vassar, superintended the production of the *Antigone* by the Boston Saturday Evening Club in 1891, and that of the *Women's Club* of New Haven in 1892. At his own institution in New York he brought out the *Electra* of Sophocles in 1889, and, in 1908, the *Choephoroi* of Aeschylus. He has always taken a deep interest in Greek drama, and the cause of the classics owes much to him.

Mrs. Mussey has also been a prominent factor in the production of dramatizations from the Greek and the Latin. As a schoolgirl she arranged portions of the *Aeneid* under the title "The Feast of

Dido," which was given in 1889 by the Boston Girls' Latin School and in 1894 by Boston University. Her "Flight of Aeneas" was staged at the Hotchkiss School in 1898, at Hill School in 1898, at Rochester High School in 1903, and at Dearborn Seminary, Chicago, in 1904. When a student at Radcliffe College, she managed the "Homeric Pictures" there and later arranged the "Return of Odysseus," which was given at Brown University in 1896, at Hull House in 1898, at the Studebaker, Chicago—by a club of Greeks—and at Toronto University in 1899, at Rochester University and Iowa College in 1900, and at the University of Minnesota in 1902. In 1903 she managed the *Ajax*, given by Hull House Greeks—mainly fruit sellers—and she played the part of Tecmessa in this play in New York, where a company of Greeks, assisted by a couple of the Hull House cast, played for four nights on the "East Side" in 1904. She also aided in the preparations for the *Ajax* at the University of California but was unable to take part in the performance on account of illness. In 1905 she managed the "Feast of Adonis and Other Dramatizations from Theocritus" at the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, and she directed the *Troades*, which was given in Murray's translation by the Women's Club of Upper Montclair, N.J., last June. All performances except the last two were in the original. Mrs. Mussey's dramatic ability, the influence of her father, an ardent student of the classics, her visits to Greece, and her studies at Leipzig and in the continental galleries and museums have all contributed to the great success which she has achieved.

Two performances outside of college circles remain to be mentioned. The first was the *Oedipus* which was given by the Unity Club of Cleveland in the parlors of Unity Church in 1889. The second was the notable production of the *Medea* by the Bryn Mawr Club of Boston last fall. They gave the play to large houses in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, using the same translation that was employed at Bryn Mawr in the spring.

A word should be said in reference to two modern dramas which have been staged by professional companies in New York. The first is the *Elektra* of Hugo von Hoffmansthal, in which Mrs. Patrick Campbell starred two years ago at the Garden Theater. The second is the Strauss opera-tragedy *Elektra*—inspired by the work of von

Hoffmansthal—which was brought out at Dresden in 1909 and had its initial performance at the Manhattan on February 1 of this year. It is characterized by one critic as “a veritable chamber of horrors set down in a seething torrent of musical dissonance.”

The plays in prospect are: *Antigone*, University of South Dakota, May 19; *Oedipus Tyrannus*, Dartmouth, May 21 and June 28, in Greek; *Oedipus Tyrannus*, University of California, May 14; *Antigone*, University of California, July 5, by Margaret Anglin and a professional company; *Alcestis*, Wabash College, June 14; *Antigone*, Schenectady High School, in June; *Electra*, Brown University, by the Coburn Players, in June.

In regard to the Latin plays, it is impossible to do more than mention them, although I had expected to take them up in more detail. The earliest production was the *Captivi* at St. Lawrence University in 1882. Except that it was given in English, no further information was obtainable. St. Lawrence also gave the *Mostellaria* in 1897. In 1890 two plays were put on, the *Menaechmi* at the University of Michigan, repeated in Chicago, and the *Captivi* at St. Francis Xavier's, N.Y. A second performance of the *Captivi* was given by St. Xavier's at the World's Fair in 1893. The most pretentious performance of the decade was that of the *Phormio* at Harvard in 1894, of which Professor Peck says: “It is not probable that we shall soon see another Latin play presented with so few glaring anachronisms and with such general completeness of detail as characterized the rendition of the *Phormio* at Harvard.” The music was composed by Professor Allen and has been used at many institutions since 1894. The same year the University of Nebraska gave the *Captivi* as a part of the Silver Anniversary program. Nebraska also put on some scenes from the *Menaechmi* in English in 1909 and a part of the *Medea* of Seneca and of the *Trinummus* this year. The last three performances have been for the benefit of the Latin Club only.

In 1895 the *Trinummus* was given by Professor Smalley of Syracuse University, with music composed by Professor Frey of the faculty of fine arts. Since then selections and adaptations of Greek and Latin literature have been presented at meetings of the Classical Club both in the original and in English. The following year Professor Cowles of Amherst put on the *Adelphoe* in English, and in March,

1904, the *Trinummus*. In both cases the audiences were made up of invited guests and filled the chapel in which the plays were held. Smith gave the *Adelphoe* in 1897, the *Trinummus* in 1900, and the Smith Freshmen produced the *Carmen Saeculare* with prologue and sacrificial scenes in 1904. In 1901 St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia, gave the *Captivi* at its Jubilee celebration. The music was the same as that used at St. Francis Xavier, but the translation for the libretto was the work of the St. Joseph students. The libretto itself is a very neat piece of work. In 1902 the Juniors of Swarthmore put on a series of two scenes each from the *Captivi*, *Trinummus*, and *Phormio*, the costumes consisting of caps and gowns. They made such a hit that several additional performances were given by request. In 1905 Professor Chase gave the *Captivi*, the first play at Earlham College, Indiana, and four years later the *Trinummus*, "the intention being," as he says, "to give a Latin drama at least once in each college generation, since a yearly production would involve too great an expenditure of time and energy."

Beloit in the long series of classical plays has produced but one from the Latin, the *Captivi* in 1906, under the direction of Professor Calland. The metrical translation was done by the twenty-six members of the Sophomore class, and his classes have also made verse translations of the *Phormio* and the *Troades* and given, informally, scenes from other plays. Each year, also, an "evening" with some Roman author is held at Professor Calland's home for the Latin classes and their friends.

In 1907 Professor Denny of Drake University gave the *Menaechmi* in a metrical translation made by his drama class. The music was that of Professor Allen of Harvard and was played by a full orchestra of woodwind instruments. The *Adelphoe* is to be given on May 12 next. The same year Professor Knapp put on some scenes from the *Phormio* at Barnard College, Columbia University, and in 1908 the *Menaechmi* was given there with slight omissions. One other play was put on in 1908, the *Rudens*, by pupils of the eighth grade at the normal school of San José, California.

Last year several plays were given in addition to the Earlham *Trinummus*. Northwestern University put on the *Phormio* in the gymnasium with a stage setting copied from that of the theater at

Orange. No expense was spared on the production, and the results were very gratifying to those in charge. In the South, the Senior class of the Sophie Newcomb College for Women at New Orleans gave the *Menaechmi* on the campus, and this year the Latin Club of that institution read the *Phormio* as an entertainment for one of the high-school Latin clubs. Somerville School at Savannah also gave some scenes from the *Eunuchus* as a part of their commencement program.

The latest Latin performance was at Washburn College, Kansas. The *Trinummus* was given twice in February of this year, on the 11th before the Classical Association of Kansas and Western Missouri, and a second time to the public on the 15th. The translation, under the title, *A Three-Penny Bit*, was made by Professor Greer, who writes in reference to the success of the play: "We feel that our purpose, to spread and increase the interest in the classics and to prove that we—as well as the ancients—are alive and still on earth, was successfully accomplished."

Latin plays have been given at Haverford and Emporia, but the only information obtainable was that "a play was given at Haverford thirty or forty years ago," and "the Emporia play occurred in the nineties." One prospective play has not been mentioned. Mills College for Women at Oakland, California, plans to give a Roman banquet in June, at which the chief feature will be five scenes from the *Phormio* with Professor Allen's music.

Dramatizations from the Latin have been almost as numerous as plays. The adaptations from Vergil by Miss Barrows have been discussed. At Middlebury College, Vermont, Professor Sanford gave, in 1898, a "Roman Chorus," made up of selections from Horace. The following year he put on a dramatization of the conspiracy of Catiline—"Temporibus Hominis Arpinatis"—a selection of passages from Cicero, Sallust, and Plutarch. This was repeated in 1900 and will be given on June 21 of this year. Professor Frank J. Miller's *Dido* has also been staged at a large number of institutions since it came out a few years ago. I have the names of sixteen high schools, academies, and colleges at which performances have been given, and the list is far from complete. The most elaborate of these were the rendition in the Pabst Theater this spring by students of the East Division High School, Milwaukee, and that at the Western High

School, Detroit, last year, in which a cast of a hundred and twenty-five took part. It has great dramatic possibilities and is meeting with the recognition it deserves.

This paper has endeavored to set out in meager outlines the history of the rendition of classic plays in America. How meager these outlines necessarily are can be seen from the totals. Greek plays, scenes from plays, and dramatizations have been given at forty-seven institutions and to the number of a hundred and one. Thirty-two Latin plays and twenty-six dramatizations from the Latin have been staged at forty-four institutions. The increasing number of such performances augurs happily for the future of the classics in our schools and colleges.

Reports from the Classical Field

Edited by J. J. SCHLICHER

It is the purpose of this department to keep the readers of the *Journal* informed of events and undertakings in the classical field, and to make them familiar with the varying conditions under which classical work is being done, and with the aims and experiences of those who are in one way or another endeavoring to increase its effectiveness. The success of the department will naturally depend to a great extent on the co-operation of the individual readers themselves. Everyone interested in the *Journal* and in what it is trying to do is therefore cordially invited to report anything of interest that may come to his notice. Inquiries and suggestions will also be useful in directing the attention of the editors to things which may otherwise escape their notice. Communications should be addressed to J. J. Schlicher, 1811 N. Eighth Street, Terre Haute, Ind., or (for New England) to Clarence W. Gleason, Volkmann School, 415 W. Newbury Street, Boston, Mass.

THE CLASSICS AND THEIR ALLIES

Among the many important influences affecting our courses of study in recent years there is one which does not receive the attention that it deserves, though it is perhaps the most fundamental of all. This is the tendency of our institutions to disintegrate, so that more and more the individual department of study becomes the unit in place of the school as a whole. It is due on the one hand to the elective system, which drives the individual departments in self-defense to perfect themselves as independent units, and on the other hand to the increasing number of narrowly trained specialists among the teachers, who will in the nature of the case be inclined to favor this isolation and absence of interference in their own particular line of work. This tendency to split up into departmental units is quite noticeable and has marked effects even in high schools; and in colleges, to say nothing at all of universities, it appears almost as the dominant factor in their work.

Under such conditions two lines of work must suffer in a peculiar way—those which depend for their efficiency upon the co-operation of the whole school, like the instruction in English, and those which, instead of a single and definitely circumscribed goal, have a broad and varied one, like the classics. When a department, however narrow its scope, can point to a single, specific result that it accomplishes, a result that is easily understood, it is sure of its justification in the eyes of the public. This applies especially to the commercial and semi-commercial courses which are being established at present in such numbers. They are able not only to accomplish the end they aim at, but they can do it with little assistance from without. Hence they naturally flourish at a time when the very organization of the school is such as to discourage those lines of work which depend for their results upon the breadth either of their aim or of their practice. The vigor of the depart-

ment of mathematics depends on two things chiefly, its ability to "paddle its own canoe" without reference to the rest of the world, and the fact that it is a necessary tool for other work. Modern languages, in like manner, especially in the university, are favored by the fact that they are a necessary tool. Many-sided work, on the other hand, whose results are often unobtrusive, such as that which the classics are called to do, will easily appear like shooting with a blunderbuss—aiming at nothing in particular, and hitting nothing in particular. And what the results are in English under a régime where each department washes its hands of the work done by the other, and where slouchy English often seems even to the instructor to be a natural part of the atmosphere surrounding his specialty, is too clear from the strenuous complaints made year by year to call for remark.

It would be more than useless to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the elective system with its results, many of which are very good, as compared with the system which it supplanted. The thing of importance is that it is here, and that it has, for one thing, left the course of study in an unbalanced and chaotic state. The new synthesis and clarification of the curriculum is not yet in sight, and it may be many years in coming. But in the meantime there is no good reason why efforts should not be made by the individual departments which cannot do their work well in the present condition of isolation and mutual independence, to form such alliances as are clearly to the interests of better work, and may incidentally contribute something of a substantial kind to the larger reorganization of the course of study in the future. It is with the hope of directing attention to this possibility that we bring below a number of expressions from classical teachers which reflect their views and practice in the matter.

A comparison shows that the feeling between the various departments of instruction is decidedly better in the high schools than in the colleges or universities. Some teachers in the higher institutions speak rather skeptically of the possibility of co-operation between departments—as one correspondent expresses it, the fate of such attempts is doomed to be similar to that of the triumvirate of 60 B.C. On the other hand, the high-school teachers not only show greater hospitality and hopefulness, but many of them have actually put a more or less extended plan of the kind into operation. An account of one of these was given in the February number of the *Journal*.

The most effective way to correlate two lines of work is to have them both taught by the same teacher. This is the method of the German gymnasium, and it is only our departmental blindness which keeps us from seeing that it would be infinitely better for both the pupil and the teacher if the latter had several related branches to teach, instead of several sections of a class doing exactly the same work in the same subject, as is often done. In those cases where such a combination of several lines of work has been given a trial, the testimony is practically unanimous as to the excellent results obtained from it.

Failing this, a very good arrangement, and one practiced in some of the high schools, is to have regular conferences of the teachers in closely related subjects, more or less official in character, whose purpose it is to discover and put into practice ways of helping each other in the planning of their work. Even when official sanction to this sort of arrangement is lacking, much is often accomplished by a friendly understanding between the teachers as individuals. Thus time may be saved by an exchange of references for supplementary reading, or the reading itself may be planned with reference to the work of the other department, as when the reading of various poems of Tennyson, *Oenone*, the poem to Virgil, etc., Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*, Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, and other works of English literature, are made to coincide with related matter in the Latin course, or when the Caesar class reads those parts of the *Gallic War* which bear on the early history of Britain and Germany, in co-operation with the teacher in history, or the teacher in history assigns to the students in Latin such topics as involve an acquaintance with historians and other authors in Latin and Greek.

Still further co-operation with the department of English is secured by the assignment to the Latin students of subjects for composition chosen from the classical field, or through the acceptance by the English department of carefully written translations, either in prose or verse, as themes in English. We might add with reference to the latter, that probably no better check on the tendency to stereotyped or careless translation could be devised than such a chance to have it count as English composition, to be graded on its merits as English by the teacher in that subject.

A practice which is becoming somewhat common in the colleges is that of offering courses in classical authors, especially the Greek poets, in good English translations. This work is also in a number of cases accepted in lieu of work in English literature. Similarly, classical teachers in colleges sometimes give courses in translations of ancient authors for the sake of their content simply, as in Aristotle and Plato, which are accepted by the department of philosophy or political science, as the case may be. The remark is made, and it is a true one, that these courses also keep the classical teachers themselves from becoming too formally linguistic in their methods, and that they help to keep their minds open to all phases of their subject.

Still another way in which the classical teacher often secures the benefits of co-operation by his own efforts, is to assign for collateral reading such works in modern literature as are derived from, or obviously influenced or inspired by, an ancient author whose work the class is reading. So the *Prometheus Unbound* of Shelley is read with the *Prometheus Bound* of Aeschylus, Emerson's *Essay on Friendship* with Cicero's *De Amicitia*, the orations of English and American statesmen with those of Cicero, Milton with Virgil or Ovid, English critical essays with the *Ars Poetica*, the English pastoral poets with the *Eclogues* of Virgil, Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* with the *Menæchmi* of Plautus, Moliere's *Rogueries of Scapin* with the *Phormio* of Terence, etc.

Perhaps five-sixths of all the suggestions for correlation which were made in the replies sent in by the teachers were between the classics and either English or history. A limited number mentioned the sciences, particularly with a view to the derivation of scientific terms. A somewhat larger number, but still few as compared with English and history, suggested co-operation with the teachers of the modern languages. Among these the suggestion was made that the different language teachers might agree on a uniform scheme of marking and something like a common standard of estimate in the various elements of the students' language work. It is also stated with considerable force by a number of teachers, especially in the East, that by such co-operation something might be done toward bringing about uniformity in the use of grammatical terms. This is certainly a reform that it will pay to undertake, for we will all agree that language teachers have better use for the time and energy which the confusion and friction of the present time consume. But it is a problem of national scope and will have to be taken up and settled as it has been settled in Germany, and is being settled at present in England, by representatives of the different languages from all over the country.

1. I had two years' experience in teaching Classics and English, and found that each helped the other greatly. I think it is just as true that a person cannot be a good classical teacher whose knowledge of English literature is deficient, as the reverse is true that a good English teacher must also be versed in classical literature.

2. Written work should be marked with as much care by all teachers as by those of English, and as far as possible with the same terminology and symbols. I have also got many hints from instructors in Freshman English as to ways of teaching advanced Latin composition.

3. Essays written on "Friendship," which compared Cicero's views with those of Emerson, Bacon, and Black, were received also by the English department as part of its required work. In my own teaching I frequently illustrate points in Latin and Greek by referring to similar phenomena in other subjects.

4. Inasmuch as the great amount of time spent on translation is largely given to training in the use of English, I think it but fair that written translations should be accepted and corrected as exercises in English composition. Besides, it is the best exercise in English composition. I believe there should be systematic training in formal grammar in the grades below the high school, both for the sake of the immediate training, and in view of the fact that many children will study a foreign language. And I should like to see adopted a uniform grammatical terminology, to be used in school grammars of all languages.

5. Besides my Latin classes I have two English classes, third and fourth year, so that most of the students in the Cicero and Virgil classes recite to me also in English. Principles of rhetoric taken up in the English class can often be illustrated in the Latin class. Students in both Latin classes are made to observe the style of the author, and are required to keep in mind the historical background.

6. There is no artificial correlation to be recommended. Teach each subject as well as you can.

7. The work in the classics should be allied with English, history, and modern languages. A course in Greek poetry in translation is my only personal experience, and I am quite sure that the classics are better off as a result of it.

8. I think it would be well for the Latin teacher to give occasional informal talks to ancient-history classes on topics of special interest to both departments, and for the teacher in history to do the same in the Latin classes.

9. I am teaching a class in Roman history this quarter and I find that the superior equipment, casts, maps, copies of manuscripts, pictures, etc., possessed by the Latin department, serves to increase the interest. In this way also the students of Latin are inclined to take more interest in the history.

10. I ask students taking science to make careful notes of every scientific term that they are able to recognize from their classical reading.

11. Science departments are asked to give us a list of words derived from Latin and Greek which we should prepare students to understand.

12. We have found pupils interested in a constant comparison of Latin and English syntax, with some attempt to get at the peculiar characteristics of each language, and their comparative merits as a medium of expression.

13. The best teaching of Cicero we have ever had was done by the teacher who had in the same year the same students in ancient history.

14. I am not convinced that any closer correlation would be of advantage. I should deprecate any tendency toward subordinating the teaching of Latin, or making it dependent on any other study or studies, a result which might be reached with correlation under unfavorable auspices.

15. Third-year pupils in our high school are trained, in their English work, to write verse, and in the fourth year in Latin are urged to prepare verse translations.

16. A dull Cicero student awakened to life recently at the mention of Tusculum, with the remark, "That's where Lars Porsenna lived."

17. Last year the Greek professor and I exchanged one class, he taking my Virgil class and I his second-year Greek. This arrangement enabled each of us to review the other language, to become acquainted with the work of the other's department, and to meet his students without adding to our teaching hours.

18. Every language teacher should give at least one course in which linguistic study in the formal sense is eliminated, and the content of ancient literature and life is studied—it will help to keep his other courses from becoming mechanical.

19. I should like a good graded historical reader, taken mainly from Livy, Caesar, Sallust, and Cicero, all simplified, for first-year reading and for rapid work later, in connection with an intensive study of a smaller amount of Caesar and Cicero.

20. A committee of teachers in our high school is now at work upon a list of supplementary reading intended to correlate so far as possible the reading of all departments for each term.

21. Latin and history—too often pupils fail to realize any connection between the two; Latin and English literature—I find great interest on the part of Virgil students in making marginal references indicating author and work that have derived inspiration from a passage in Virgil.

22. The teacher in ancient history meets with the Latin teachers and the principal to discuss plans and aims.

23. We find it advantageous to correlate the work in ancient history and Latin and Greek, though I am free to confess that the classical teachers do most of the "correlating." The same holds true of English. This is, of course, largely due to the fact that our classes in both English and history are mixed, containing many students who do not elect Latin or Greek, and this is the greatest obstacle in the way.

24. Correlation of Virgil, for example, with Greek and English literature, such as the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, Milton, and Shakespeare; and between Cicero and studies in history, art, and archaeology, are of immense value in adding to the student's zeal and devotion. I have used this method for two years and have found it very helpful.

25. I have given courses in Greek and Roman antiquities and the history of classical literature to students with little or no knowledge of the classics, and have found their interest to be quite marked.

26. Teachers of ancient history should be able to use the Greek and Latin sources. Teachers of the classics should know ancient history.

27. A greater effort perhaps should be made by the classical teacher to show in the Latin and Greek literatures the sources of inspiration, imagery, and thought from which English and American authors have largely drawn.

CURRENT EVENTS

A Memorial to Professor Mau

Shortly after the death of Professor August Mau the suggestion was made that a bust of him be erected as a memorial in the Forum of Pompeii. This suggestion has now taken definite form; and a committee representing the Italian administration of Fine Arts and the German, English, and American Schools in Rome has been appointed to carry it into effect. The committee issued the following address to those who knew Professor Mau or were interested in his work:

ROME, March 30, 1910

On March 6, 1909, August Mau died after a life of ceaseless activity. We do not need to emphasize the value of his life-work. Suffice it to mention one thing alone, which assures him for all time a place in the foremost rank of scholarship: his discovery of the evolution of Pompeian painting, with its valuable deductions for the history of human culture. Remarkable as were the results of his scholarship, the effect of his personality on those who were privileged to know him was still more so. His manly straightforwardness, his simplicity, his purity of motive, but above all his delight in his work, never failed to impress themselves upon those who came into contact with him. In his work he lived. This love of his work kept him always young and joyous. His joy was contagious and communicated itself to all those who met him, so that they left him full of gratitude.

All those who knew him will rejoice in an opportunity to give to their feeling of gratitude a lasting expression. In this spirit, in the desire to establish some lasting token of personal friendship and devotion, and with no wish for a merely formal and official recognition (which would be quite contrary to his desire), it has been proposed to erect a bust of Professor Mau in the place where generations of scholars of all nations have learned how under the magic of his word the ruins became eloquent witnesses to the history of man.

The undersigned have reason to hope that the Ministry of Public Instruction of his Majesty the King of Italy will not refuse consent to the erection of the proposed bust. Otherwise the money will be expended for a worthy publication of the Pompeian wall paintings which were copied under Mau's direction.

We appeal to all of Professor Mau's friends and admirers for support in the carrying out of this undertaking.

(Signed) Walter Amelung, Rome; Thomas Ashby, Rome; Jesse Benedict Carter, Rome; Wolfgang Helbig, Rome; Antonio Sogliano, Naples.

Since this address was prepared, the Italian government has granted permission to erect the bust of Professor Mau in the Pompeian Forum.

Contributions to the amount of \$159.75 are already on deposit with the treasurer of the Archaeological Institute of America for this worthy purpose. They were received from the classical staffs of the University of Wisconsin; Johns Hopkins and Yale Universities; the Universities of Pennsylvania, Chicago, Michigan; Harvard, Cornell, Princeton, and Columbia Universities; Mr. George P. Brett, president of the Macmillan Company; and former members of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome. Professor Mau lectured each year to the students of the American School from its founding to his death.

It is desired to make the contribution from America two hundred dollars. Any who have not already contributed to this fund and would be pleased to do so are requested to send their contributions to Professor F. W. Kelsey (address: 826 Tappan Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan).

An Elaborate New Edition of Strabo's Geography

Preliminary announcement is made of an elaborate annotated edition of Strabo's *Geography* by an editorial staff of American scholars. The plan contemplates an introduction on the life, travels, and sources of Strabo, a translation of the *Geography*, and extended notes, much after the manner of Frazer's *Pausanias*. It is hoped that such an edition will prove acceptable to scholars in various fields, since no satisfactory edition of Strabo exists, and he is our most important authority for the geography and topography of much of the ancient world. The work of the edition will be carried forward as rapidly as is consistent with thoroughness.

The plan of the edition is due to Dr. Charles H. Weller, Dr. David M. Robinson, and Dr. Albert T. Olmstead. Dr. Weller is general editor, and Dr. Robinson will make the translation. The various portions of the work are assigned to specialists who have given evidence by their publications and studies of their peculiar fitness for the work in their several fields. The editorial staff so far as arranged is as follows: for Spain, Professor Paul Baur, Ph.D., of Yale University; for Egypt, Professor James H. Breasted, Ph.D., of the University of Chicago; for France, Professor Walter Dennison, Ph.D., of the University of Michigan; for Thessaly, Professor Roland G. Kent, Ph.D., of the University of Pennsylvania; for Assyria, Armenia, and Syria, Dr. A. T. Olmstead, of the University of Missouri; for western Asia Minor, Professor David M. Robinson, Ph.D., of Johns Hopkins University; for Scythia, Professor Nathaniel Schmidt, M.A., of Cornell University; for India and Persia, Professor Herbert C. Tolman, Ph.D., D.D., of Vanderbilt University; for

Greece, Professor Charles H. Weller, Ph.D., of the University of Iowa; for Italy and Sicily, Professor Harry L. Wilson, Ph.D., LL.D., of Johns Hopkins University; for the introductory books, Mr. Jesse E. Wrench, M.A., of Syracuse University. Nearly all of the editors have been intimately connected as professors, fellows, and members with the American schools at Athens, Rome, and Jerusalem.

Classical Societies and Clubs

Iowa State Hellenic Society

The first meeting of the *Iowa State Hellenic Society* was held at Grinnell May 27, 1910. President J. H. T. Main delivered an address on "The Place of Greek in Modern Education," the discussion of which was introduced by Professor C. H. Weller of the University of Iowa. A special feature of the program of the day was the presentation of "A Ceremony Celebrating Dionysus Dendrites," performed in costume by the local Bacchi.

The Hellenic Society was organized last November at Des Moines. The officers are: President, President J. H. T. Main, Iowa State College, Grinnell, Ia.; Vice-President, Professor William S. Ebersole, Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Ia.; Secretary, Professor Sherman Kirk, Drake University, Des Moines, Ia.; Treasurer, Professor Joanna Baker, Simpson College, Indianola, Ia.; and the following persons were elected to serve with the four preceding officers on the Executive Committee of seven of the society: Colonel Alonzo Abernethy, Des Moines, Ia.; Professor Charles H. Weller, Iowa City, Ia.; and Professor H. F. Kanthlemer, Sioux City, Ia.

Greek Club of Bethany College

The meetings of the club are held fortnightly. A literary program, which is presented by members of the Greek classes, is followed by a social time and refreshments. The topics have during the past year been so selected as to help make real to the young men and women the life of the ancient Greeks, and also to set forth the part played by that people in developing civilization.

Classical Club of Philadelphia

On Friday, May 13, the Classical Club of Philadelphia completed fifteen years of prosperous existence. The club was first organized by Dr. Alfred Gudeman, and its membership of 42 includes not merely men who are teachers of the classics but others interested therein. There are six meetings annually, devoted to the reading of a paper, discussions, presentation of brief interesting communications, and then—good fellowship.

Terre Haute Latin Club

This club, composed of teachers of Latin in Terre Haute and neighboring towns, holds meetings once a month throughout the year. The time is divided between the reading of some author, and brief papers or reports on matters of common interest or on topics more or less closely connected with the work which is being read. During the past year the club read Lucan's *Pharsalia*.

Peoria Classical Club

Perhaps the latest classical club is one which has been formed in Peoria, composed of teachers of the Peoria High School and Bradley, and a few others interested. The club is very informal and has no special organization, but meets once a month to read some Greek author. Just now the club is reading Lucian.

Recent Performances

A rendition of the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus was given May 11 at the home of Professor Charles Foster Smith, Madison, Wis., by Miss Bernice Banning, fellow in Greek at the University of Wisconsin. Parts of the play were read in the original, and an excellent and sympathetic rendering given in English.

A performance of the *Oedipus Rex* of Sophocles, in the translation of Thomas Francklin, was given in the Greek theater at the University of California, May 14, on the occasion of the golden jubilee of the College of California. The music of John Knowles Paine was used, the orchestra and chorus being under the direction of Mr. Paul Steindorff. Mr. Charles D. von Neumayer acted as dramatic director, and Professor James T. Allen had charge of the costuming and supervised the performance. Professor Allen also played the part of Oedipus.

A "Cena apud Caesarem" was given by the students of Mills College, Oakland, Cal., under the direction of Miss Irmagarde Richards, on April 16. The scene represented the peristyle and triclinium of the house of Augustus on the Palatine. The banqueters were entertained with the following program:

"The Lover's Quarrel" (Horace, *Odes*, III, 9), music by Maurice Leon Driver.

"Hector's Farewell to Andromache" (*Iliad*, VI, 440-493).

"Scenes from the Phormio."

"Hymn to Diana" (Catullus, 34) sung by a chorus; music by Edward F. Schneider.

The annual Greek recital at Washington University, St. Louis, on May 11, consisted this year of selections from the dialogues of Lucian. Some of these were given first in English, then in Greek, others only in one language. The parts selected were from the following dialogues: *The True History*, *Icaro Menippus*, *The Death of Peregrine*, *Prometheus*, *The Parasite*, one each of the *Dialogues of the Dead* and of the *Hetaerae*, and the *Judgment of Paris*. The program was printed in Greek throughout.

The Latin Department of the Deshler School for Girls, Tusculumbia, Ala., gave "Dido, the Phoenician Queen," on May 23. The costumes were worked out from illustrations in Latin texts. The music department trained the choruses. Every one present voted the performance the most beautiful and instructive ever given in town.

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Editorial

THE NORTH CENTRAL ASSOCIATION REPORT ON UNIFORM ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS IN THE CLASSICS

Classical teachers felt that the battle for uniformity in their field was half won last winter, when fifteen men, appointed by the only national classical association, came to a unanimous agreement, and when their report was adopted by the appointing association. Now the success of this movement is seriously endangered by the appearance of a rival definition of uniform entrance requirements. Those of us who have known of the high aims and the excellent achievements of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools must doubly regret that this new definition is presented under its authority. On the one hand, the prestige of the Association is deservedly so great that there is danger of its recommendations being adopted by some colleges without sufficient examination; and on the other hand, we regret to see the Association weaken its influence by accepting an ill-considered report.

The American Philological Association appointed a committee of fifteen in December, 1908. After some preliminary correspondence, Mr. John C. Kirtland, the chairman of this committee, prepared a set of questions which covered almost every possible point that could come up in its deliberations. Each member of the committee prepared full answers to these questions and sent them to each of his colleagues. In October, 1909, every member of the committee went to Cleveland. There in full meeting every phrase of the report was patiently discussed. There is strong evidence that no such care was used in preparing the other report. On

p. 25 of the "Report of the Commission on Accredited Schools and Colleges of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools" a committee of nineteen is named for Latin and Greek. The personnel of the committee is excellent; but the only two members of it whom we have asked about it first learned of their membership on the committee by seeing their names in the printed report. Evidently the report was not considered in full meeting of the committee.

It is well known that the chief obstacle in the way of uniformity has been the individual requirements which certain great eastern institutions have thought it necessary to make. The report accepted by the Philological Association was assented to by representatives of each of these institutions, and yet contains nothing in the least objectionable to the great mass of institutions which admit on certificate. The committee of the North Central Association represents only the north central states. It is quite safe to say that the great eastern institutions will not accept a report which they have had no voice in making.

Unquestionably the Philological Association report is not above criticism. If the new report were based on serious criticism of the Philological Association report, its existence might be justified. But in fact, though the North Central report was adopted three months after the Philological Association report was adopted, it wholly ignores the Philological Association report. The North Central report begins by saying: "In Latin the Commission adopts the first two units as defined by the American Philological Association, and the third and fourth units as defined by the College Entrance Examination Board." But when one reads the statement of the first two units he finds them taken from a report several years old, which the Philological Association had discarded three months before.

In view of these facts we feel justified in asking all members of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South to do all that lies in their power to have the report of the North Central Association, so far as it applies to Latin, ignored by the colleges, and have that report rescinded by the North Central Association at its next meeting.

THE LEGEND OF THE TROJAN SETTLEMENT IN LATIUM

BY GORDON J. LAING
The University of Chicago

I have undertaken an examination of this question because it seems to me that in many discussions of it the nature of the relation between the legend and the cult of Aphrodite is stated in a misleading way. That there is a connection between the two is true; but that it is not to the cult that we must look for the ultimate origin¹ of the legend I shall endeavor to show. My paper consists of two parts: I, a summary and criticism of the most important passages in ancient authors referring to the legend, and II, a discussion of the theories of its origin.

I

The first reference that bears upon the question is the well-known prophecy of Poseidon in *Iliad* xx. 302 ff., on the occasion of the duel between Achilles and Aeneas:

μόριμον δέ οἱ ἐστ' ἀλέασθαι,
ὄφρα μὴ ἄσπερμος γενεὴ καὶ ἄφαντος ὄληται
Δαρδάνου,

and again, *ibid.*, 307, 8:

νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείας βίῃ Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει
καὶ παίδων παῖδες, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.²

Here we have in all probability a *vaticinium ex eventu*, indicating that at the time of its composition there was reigning in the Troad

¹ "And 't is the will of fate
That he escape; that so the Dardan race,
Beloved by Jove above all others sprung
From him and mortal women, may not yet
Perish from earth and leave no progeny.
For Saturn's son already holds the house
Of Priam in disfavor, and will make
Aeneas ruler o'er the men of Troy,
And his son's sons shall rule them after him."

a dynasty that claimed descent from Aeneas.¹ There is no hint in the passage of an emigration on the part of Aeneas and his followers. Strabo (xiii. 1. 53) refers to these verses and points out the discrepancy between the account given in them and the story that Aeneas emigrated to Italy. Virgil turns the prophecy to the glory of the Julian gens in *Aeneid* iii. 97:

Hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris
Et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis.

Arctinus of Miletus also, the Cyclic poet, says nothing of an emigration of Aeneas, if we may judge from the extracts of his work preserved in the *Chrestomathy* of Proclus. Moreover, if there had been a reference to such an event in any of his poems, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who knew them (i. 69), would not have failed to mention it. The account given by Arctinus (in his *Ἰλίου Πέποις*) is that Aeneas left the city immediately after the Laocoon disaster, and withdrew to Mount Ida. This was the version Sophocles used in his *Laocoon*, possibly going back to Arctinus as his source.

Of Peisander, from whom according to Macrobius (*Sat.* v. 2. 4) Virgil is said to have drawn the second book of the *Aeneid*, we know nothing definite. So far as our information goes, there is no work by Peisander of Cameirus to which the reference could be, and it is hard to believe that Macrobius could have imagined that Peisander of Laranda, who lived in the first half of the third century A.D., was older than Virgil. In any case the end of the second book takes us only as far as the withdrawal of Aeneas to the mountain. Dionysius does not mention Peisander.

The name of Stesichorus is of especial importance for our question, because many have believed that the earliest traces of the myth of the settlement in Italy are to be found in his work. Niebuhr, *Römische Geschichte* (I, 201), says that Stesichorus sang of Aeneas' wanderings "fast wie Vergil," basing his belief on the representation of the Iliac Table of the Capitol. Mommsen also (*History of Rome*, Eng. transl., I, 594), Wörner in Roscher's *Lexikon*, and Rossbach in Pauly-Wissowa, while they do not go so far as Niebuhr, express confidence in the evidence of the Table. The

¹ See Niebuhr, *Römische Geschichte*, I, 199, and Monro in his note on the passage.

scene depicted there (see the facsimile in *Corp. Inscrip. Gr.*, III, 6125, or the reproduction in Daremberg and Saglio's dictionary) is the departure of Aeneas from his native shore: he is holding Ascanius by the hand, behind him is the trumpeter Misenus, in front Anchises with the *sacra*, and they are in the act of embarking. The inscription given on the Table is "Aeneas setting out for the West." This is only one of many scenes on the Table. The sources from which the maker has drawn are given in the spaces between the scenes: the *Iliad* of Homer, the *Aethiopis* of the Milesian Arctinus, the *Little Iliad* of Lesches, and the *Iliupersis* of Stesichorus. We know enough about the content of the first three to eliminate them as sources for the scene we are discussing, and the assumption that it goes back to Stesichorus seems reasonably well based. This assumption is not invalidated by the fact that the Table is a Roman production, belonging possibly to the early imperial period. Neither Preller (*Römische Mythologie*, Jordan's ed., II, 314) nor Nissen (*Jahrbücher*, XCI, 378) has established the contention that the representations are so largely influenced by the form of the legend at the time of their composition that they are untrustworthy as sources. The vagueness of the phrase "For the West"¹ tends to indicate an honest use of sources. On the other hand, that same phrase, pointing in so general a way to Italy or Sicily, prevents belief in the view of Niebuhr stated above. Stesichorus probably brought Aeneas to Italy, but there is nothing to show that he connected him with Latium.

So far there is no mention of the settlement in Latium. Dionysius (i. 72) cites as an ancient testimony for the founding of Rome by the Trojans the account of Cephalion, of Gergis, a town in the Troad. According to his story Aeneas himself died in Thrace, but Romus, one of his sons, led the Trojans to Italy and founded Rome. This evidence, however, turns out to be untrustworthy. We find on inquiry that but little confidence can be placed in Dionysius' claims of antiquity for many of his authorities, and we are distinctly told by Athenaeus (ix. 393) that the book on Troy passing under Cephalion's name was written by an Alexandrian of the third century B.C.

¹ εἰς τὴν Ὀρεπλάαν.

The so-called *Chronicle of the Argive Priestesses* (Dionysius i. 72), attributed to Hellanicus, an older contemporary of Herodotus, is likewise open to criticism. The account there given is that Aeneas along with Odysseus, passing through the country of the Thracians and Molossians, came finally to Italy, where he founded a city which he called Rome after the name of one of the Trojan women with him. It is noticeable that we have here a crossing of the myths of Aeneas and Odysseus, which is common in the later forms of the story. This chronicle may be, as Preller suggests, a later version of the original chronicle of Hellanicus.

It is probably in the story of Aristotle, cited by Dionysius (i. 72), that we have the first mention of a Trojan settlement in Latium. His version is that an Achaean squadron, cast away upon the shores of Latium, was set on fire by Trojan female slaves, and that the Latins originated from these Achaeans, who were thus compelled to stay there, and their Trojan wives.

From this time on we see in the Greek writers much more definite outlines of the form which the story subsequently took. Callias of Syracuse, for instance, who wrote about 300 B.C., tells us of the settlement of the Trojans in Latium and of their union with the aborigines. Roma, one of the Trojan women, marries King Latinus and their children are Romus, Romulus, and Telegonus.

A much more important name in Dionysius' muster of authorities is that of Timaeus of Tauromenium in Sicily (ca. 352-256 B.C.). Mommsen speaks of him as "having really completed the conception subsequently current of the Trojan emigration." He represents Aeneas as founding first Lavinium with its shrine of the Trojan Penates, and then Rome. He writes (Dionysius i. 67) that he himself had heard from the people of Lavinium that the images of the Trojan gods were preserved in the sanctuary of the temple. He even gives an exact inventory of the sacred vessels. He certainly cannot be charged with lack of definiteness of statement. As further evidence of Rome's Trojan origin he is said to have cited the sacrifice of the *October equus* by the Romans in the Campus Martius, explaining it as a memorial of the taking of Troy by the wooden horse (see Polyb. xii. 4b). To him also is attributed the belief expressed by Pausanias (*Att.* xii) that

King Pyrrhus felt it incumbent upon him, as a descendant of Aeacus, to make war upon the Romans, whose origin was Trojan. It is quite clear that the critical element entered but scantily into Timaeus' conception of historiography. Polybius tells us that he is untrustworthy, especially when he appeals to documentary evidence, and Mommsen describes him as one of those men who upon no matter are so well informed as upon the unknowable. Nevertheless his testimony is of importance. So far as our question is concerned, it makes but little difference whether his story is largely the result of his own inventive faculty or whether he is reproducing the current version of his time.

From Timaeus on, the belief in the Trojan settlement in Latium is universal among the Greeks.

Turning now to the Latin side, when first do we find this belief in a Trojan origin among the Romans? Wörner (in Roscher's *Lexikon*) places the first coming of the story to Latium toward the end of the sixth century B.C. Preller remarks (II, 315) that the legend gives one the impression of a total eclipse of the Latin alliances and so must have arisen some time after the final subjugation of the Latins in 338 B.C. Both these views, however, are largely speculative. All that can be said is that the story seems to have been well established about the time of the first Punic War (264-241). In Justinus (28.1) we have the record of an early official recognition of it: "Acarnes quoque diffusi Epirotis adversus Aetolos auxilium Romanorum implorantes obtinuerunt a Romano senatu ut legati mitterentur, qui denuntiarent Aetolis, praesidia ab urbibus Acarnaniae deducerent paterenturque liberos esse, qui soli quondam aduersus *Troianos*, *auctores originis suae*, auxilia Graecis non miserunt." The date of this embassy is not certain. It may have taken place as early as 238 B.C.; in any case it was not later than 224. There do not seem to me to be any reasonable grounds for Nissen's distrust of the accuracy of Justinus' statement. In Suetonius (*Claud.* 25) we have another example of state recognition of the belief: "Iliensibus, quasi Romanae gentis auctoribus, tributa in perpetuum remisit, recitata vetere epistola Graeca senatus populique Romani Seleuco regi amicitiam et societatem ita demum pollicentis, si consanguineos

suos Ilienses ab omni onere immunes praestitisset." Mommsen puts this *epistola* in 282 B.C.; Nissen, between 247 and 225. The Ilians were also included by the Romans in the first treaty with Macedonia in 205 B.C.; and later, in 190 B.C., when the Scipios crossed the Hellespont, the Ilians boasted of their colony the Roman people, and the Romans, greeting the Troad as their mother country, offered sacrifice to Athene (see Livy xxxvii. 37).

As to the place of the story in Roman literature, it is Naevius in his *Bellum Punicum* who first makes use of it. We may see something of his treatment in the fragments preserved (Baehrens, *Fragm. Poet. Rom.*, 43 ff.). Fragment 5 tells of the flight of Aeneas and Anchises from the city:

eorum sectam sequuntur multi mortales.

Fragment 4 is a picture of the flight of the women:

amborum uxores
noctu Troiade exhibant capitibus opertis,
fientes ambae, abeuntes lacrimis cum multis.

Fragment 11: their departure on a vessel which Mercury built for them; Fragment 13: the storm and the complaint of Venus to Jupiter, which Virgil afterward used. It is also generally assumed that Naevius first brought Aeneas to Carthage and introduced the Dido episode into the story.¹ It is not, however, certain that Fragment 24 refers to Dido:

blande et docte percontat Aenea quo pacto
Troiam urbem liquisset.

Baehrens thinks the reference is to the *hospes Latinus*.

Ennius told the story in detail at the beginning of his *Annales*. In Fabius Pictor we find mention of the prodigies by which Aeneas was guided to the site of the city. (See Peter, p. 8, Frag. 4.) Cato also related the story of Aeneas' coming to Latium. Cassius Hemina in his *Annales* went back to the emigration of Aeneas and his settlement in Latium. (See Peter, p. 69.) Varro tells of Aeneas' escape to the citadel of Troy and says that when the Greeks agreed to let him and his followers depart with as much as each man could carry, instead of loading himself with treasure he carried off his father; and on being granted a second choice,

¹ See Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 114.

the images of the gods (Servius on *Aeneid* ii. 636). It is Varro also who relates that the morning star was visible to the Romans during their voyage, disappearing only when they reached the Laurentian coast. (See Servius *Aeneid* i. 381; ii. 801; and Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, I, 275.) In Livy the wanderings from Troy to Italy are treated very summarily (i. 1. 4): "primo in Macedoniam venisse, inde in Siciliam . . . ab Sicilia . . . ad Laurentem agrum." Virgil's version need hardly be given.

II

It is not necessary to discuss the question of the historical or non-historical character of the story. Practically no one now believes that it is historical. But even assuming that it is a myth, its origin is a matter of interest, and on this point there has been a great deal of discussion and a wide divergence of opinion. Niebuhr (*Röm. Gesch.*, I, 210) sees in it simply the expression of the affinity of the Trojans and the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians. Everything, he claims, which we find in the old mythological stories indicates the relationship which existed between the Trojan and the Pelasgic tribes—the Arcadians, Epirots, Oenotrians, but especially the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians; and the alleged expedition of the Trojans to Latium and the wanderings of the Tyrrhenians to Lemnos, Imbros, and the Hellespont are to be interpreted as denoting nothing but this relationship. The first objection to this theory is that it explains very little, and in the second place the grounds on which Niebuhr assumes the kinship seem insufficient. For example, he cites the story in Dionysius 1. 68 of Dardanus being of Arcadian origin, and mentions that Corythus is a Tyrrhenian in Virgil and a Trojan in Hellanicus and Cephalion.

Very different is the opinion of Otr. Müller.¹ His theory is that the Aeneas story owes its origin to the introduction of the Sibylline prophecies into Rome under the Tarquins. He argues that there is good reason for supposing that the Sibylline books stood in close relation to Aeneas and the Aeneas story, citing Dionysius i. 49: "The coming of Aeneas and the Trojans to Italy is attested by prophecies of the Sibyl, oracles of Delphi, and many other

¹ *The Classical Journal*, XXVI, 210 ff.

kinds of evidence"; and *ibid.*, i. 55: "The Sibyl bade them sail toward the West until they should come to a place where they should eat their tables"; and the verses of Tibullus ii. 5.19 f.: *haec (Sibylla) dedit Aeneae sortes*, etc. These citations, he claims, support the theory that Aeneas' name had a prominent place in the prophecies, and the history of the oracles is pressed into service to show how this happened. It is urged that all the collections of Greek Sibylline prophecies are to be traced back to the Sibyl whose abode was in one of the ravines of Mount Ida; that we are informed by Herodotus that a remnant of the Trojan race still existed in the valleys of Ida after the war; and that the Aeneadae ruled over them we know from Homer, Strabo, and others. It is, therefore, Müller argues, highly probable that that remnant of the Trojans would hope for a revival of their national greatness under the leadership of the Aeneadae and that the oracles of the local Sibyl would give expression to these hopes, promising to the race of the Aeneadae the favor of the gods, increase of kingdom, and dominion over all peoples. He then attempts to show that the Roman Sibylline books are of pure Trojan origin and, to clinch his theory, points to the high place they held in the faith of the Roman people, who believed they read in them their own destiny. All that the Sibyl had predicted for the race of the Aeneadae they appropriated to themselves: the promised New Ilium was Rome; the kingdom of the Aeneadae was the empire of Rome; the race of the Aeneadae was the Roman people; and when this parallel had once become established in the minds of the Romans, it was but a step to the belief that the Romans were actually the descendants of Trojans.

This theory, plausible as it is, proves on closer examination to be unworthy of credence. It must be rejected for the reason that the assumption upon which it is ultimately based—that the Sibylline prophecies to which Dionysius refers so confidently are of pure Trojan origin and so uninfluenced by the current beliefs of the day—is without support of definite evidence.

Another explanation of the myth is offered by Bamberger in *Rhein. Mus.*, VI, 82-105. Differing from Müller, he insists that Lavinium, not Rome, was the starting-point of the story. This

too is the view of Hild in his *Légende d'Énée*. Bamberger thinks that the origin of the myth is to be found in the worship of the Penates at Lavinium. He contends that this was a widely extended Pelasgic cult, but being attributed to Aeneas it gave rise to the story. He does not, however, satisfactorily establish the Pelasgic character of the worship of the Penates. That Lavinium is the starting-point of the myth is the view also of Schwegler, who treats the whole question at some length in his *Römische Geschichte*, I, 279 ff. Dilating on Lavinium as the religious capital of Latium and citing the various records of religious associations that clung around it all through its history (Varro *L.L.* v. 144; Macrobius iii. 4. 11; Livy v. 52), he points out what seems to him the special suitability of Aeneas, famous as the preserver of the *sacra* of Troy, to be the founder of a city of such sacred connections.

Preller treats the question in his *Römische Mythologie*, II, 310-34 (Jordan's ed., 1883). His view is that the origin of the Aeneas myth is to be found in the close connection which existed from the time of Homer between Aphrodite and Aeneas; that the story of Aeneas' wanderings resulted from the diffusion of the Aphrodite cult. This view Roscher also advocates in his *Lexikon*. The wide extension of the cult of Aphrodite, Preller points out, is due mainly to her function as a goddess of the sea and of sea-faring. (See Roscher, *Studien zur Griech. Myth.*, Heft 3, p. 54.) In this capacity we find her with the epithet *Αἰνεάς*. So linked together, the cult and the fable may be traced from place to place. It is not, as the story runs, Aeneas who has visited this place and that, and built a temple to his mother Aphrodite, but it is the introduction of the Aphrodite cult that inevitably brings with it a host of Aeneas associations.

This is the theory that has today the widest currency. It does not, however, as it seems to me, square with the facts as we know them. In the first place, we cannot study the cult of Aphrodite without observing that the part played by Aeneas in that cult or in legends connected with it is relatively small. It is so small that we must rule out at once the assumption that the establishment of the cult of the goddess in a place would necessarily lead to the introduction of legends of Aeneas and of Troy. Anyone

who doubts this should glance at a conspectus of the Aphrodite cult, e.g., that given by Dümmler in the first volume of the *Real-Encyclopädie* of Pauly-Wissowa. We shall not all accept Dümmler's view on the question of the direction of the diffusion of the cult; but whether we believe with him that the worship originated in Thessaly and spread from that region to the South, East, and West, or whether we accept the more common view that it came from the East and spread across the islands of the Aegean to the mainland of Greece, we cannot but be impressed not only by its enormous extension but also by the variety of cult titles under which the goddess was worshiped. If the connection between Aphrodite and Aeneas were as close as seems sometimes to be assumed, we should have legends of Aeneas connected with temples of Aphrodite in five hundred places instead of in fifty. In other words, there are hundreds of sites on which the cult of Aphrodite flourished where we have no trace of Aeneas. Nor can we accept that modification of the theory which we find stated tentatively in Farnell's *Cults of the Greek States* (II, 638 ff.) that "the story of the wanderings of Aeneas may be the legendary record of the diffusion of the cult of Aphrodite Aineias." The various legends of Aeneas' wanderings mention fifty or more places where he landed. A majority of these show traces of the worship of Aphrodite, but in only four or five is there any vestige of the special cult of Ἀφροδίτη Αἰνεάς.

Enough has been said to show that the cult of Aphrodite and the legend of Aeneas are not in any sense coextensive. This fact, however, does not prove that the legend is not derived from the cult. The only way to get light on the question is to examine some specific examples of places where the two are found together. Let us take, first of all, the case of Latium itself. It is stated by Strabo that there was in the neighborhood of Ardea and Lavinium a temple of Aphrodite which was a common sanctuary for the cities of the Latin league. It was this temple, according to Rossbach (in Pauly-Wissowa) and others, that first gave rise to the story that Aeneas landed on the coast of Latium. An examination of this particular case leads to the conclusion that the basis for the belief is extremely flimsy. In the first place we know nothing about the

age of the temple, and in the second place there is no evidence that it was a temple of the Greek goddess Aphrodite. It may have been a temple of the Italic Venus. The fact that it was a common sanctuary for the Latins tends to favor the latter view. Of the existence of a cult of Venus in Italy long before the introduction of the worship of Aphrodite we have clear evidence. In regard to the cults at Alba and at Gabii the same doubt exists: we do not know how far back the foundations go and we cannot find out whether it was the Italic Venus or the Greek Aphrodite that was worshiped there. In Rome there was no cult of the Greek goddess till 217 B.C., when after the battle of Trasumenus a temple to Venus Erycina was vowed by Q. Fabius Maximus. The temple was dedicated two years later. As Wissowa has pointed out in his *De Veneris Simulacris Romanis* (p. 7), everything connected with that foundation indicates that it marked the first introduction of the cult of the Greek goddess into Rome. Of temples to the Italic Venus the first recorded in the *Fasti* is dated 295 B.C. The temple mentioned by Festus (p. 265), however, is probably older.

To sum up, then, there is on the one side the fact that there is no evidence of the cult of Aphrodite having been introduced into Latium before 217 B.C., and on the other hand there is the fact, established by the quotations from ancient authors given in the first part of this paper, that the story of the Trojans in Latium is at least as old as the fourth century B.C. Under these circumstances it is clear that we cannot point to any cult of Aphrodite in Latium as the source of the legend.

In the case of Sicily the situation is different. There, especially in the northwestern corner of the island, there are clear traces of the association of Aeneas and Aphrodite. Upon our determination of the nature of this relation will depend largely our conclusion in regard to the origin and significance of the whole myth. First of all it is important to distinguish between a cult, as it was originally practiced, and the legends which local annalists or poets, for purposes of their own, wove about it. Our problem here in Sicily is to decide whether the natural development of the cult of Aphrodite on that site involved Aeneas' name or legends connected with

his name, which writers afterward turned into stories of the foundation of cities and temples; or whether the story of the hero's wanderings, already current in the Mediterranean world, was used by these settlements for their own aggrandizement, and became established because the presence of the temple of the goddess-mother served to give some color to the story. To decide this question we must investigate (1) the history of the cult of Aphrodite on this site and (2) the foundation-stories told about the cities of the region. An examination of (1) shows that there is nothing in the history of the cult itself which indicates that the Aeneas legend formed an integral part of it. Such evidence as there is tends in the other direction. This part of Sicily was settled by the Elymians, a people, as Freeman in his *History of Sicily*, I, 197, points out, of extremely doubtful racial affinities: "They were, in the Greek sense, barbarians. The alleged Greek intermixture was either so little believed or was held to be so slight as not to take them out of that class. But they are barbarians who stand alone; they are not Sikan; they are not Sikel; they are not Phoenician; there is nothing to tell us whence they came." Their two chief cities were Segesta and Eryx. On the top of Mt. Eryx which towered above the town was a great temple. This temple was the earliest foundation on the spot; the town seems to have grown up around it. As we do not know anything about the religion of the Elymians, it is impossible to say what divinity was first worshiped in the temple. It was probably only after Phoenician influence became dominant in the neighborhood that the cult of Ashtoreth—the Phoenician Aphrodite—was established there. One thing, however, seems fairly certain, namely, that the cult was first established under its Phoenician name and in its Phoenician form. Now the Aeneas legend has never been connected with the name of Ashtoreth, and so it is safe to conclude that at the introduction of the cult there were no associations with Aeneas. If the Aeneas legend came in through the instrumentality of the cult, it could have come only after the name of Ashtoreth had been changed to that of Aphrodite, and we must assume that at that time the name of Aeneas, in one form or another, had a place in her worship. There do not, however, seem to be good grounds for this assumption.

Those who argue in favor of it point to the altar of 'Αφροδίτη Αἰνεῖας at Eryx and to the temple of Aeneas at Segesta. But there is not the slightest evidence to show that the altar and the temple are earlier than the date at which the legend of his wanderings became current. If we had only the altar to deal with, it might be as easy to say that the altar gave rise to the fable of Aeneas' visit as to say that the fable resulted in the altar. But as Freeman has pointed out, the temple of Aeneas at Segesta—the only temple of Aeneas of which we have record—on its most obvious interpretation, seems to imply the previous existence of the legend. In a word, the monuments in northwestern Sicily furnish no definite evidence that the association of Aeneas with Aphrodite in forms of worship antedates the story of his wanderings.

The same may be said of the sanctuaries of 'Αφροδίτη Αἰνεῖας at Leucas and Actium. Eduard Meyer (*Geschichte des Altertums*, II, §277), who believes that this cult title is of great antiquity and that the name *Aineias* is derived from it, does not produce any evidence which supports his view. Aeneas' name, he says, comes from this cult title just as Odysseus' name is derived from a cult title of Poseidon. Those who accept this theory of the origin of the Odysseus legend will probably accept his view of the Aeneas question. It is true that the name does occur not infrequently on Arcadian sites, but the occurrences are in all probability later than the story of the wanderings. They are apparently not earlier than the time of the writer Araithos who is the chief source for the Arcadian form of the Aeneas legend and who probably belongs to the fourth century B.C.

Let us look now at the foundation-stories told about Eryx and Segesta and see whether there is a probability of the legend having come to Sicily in that form. The evidence at hand seems to me to indicate a strong probability that this was the case. The eagerness of cities in various parts of the Mediterranean basin, especially in the West, to attain standing and dignity by claiming as founders heroes of the Trojan War is so well known that it does not require demonstration. Many of them claimed Greek heroes.¹

¹ See the list of examples given by Grote, *History of Greece*, I, chap. xv.

Others, who could not hope to establish a title to a Greek origin, claimed Trojan founders. This, apparently, is what Eryx and Segesta did. Moreover, it is of great importance for our inquiry to note that Aeneas is not the only Trojan who plays a part in the legendary history of that region. Passing over the story of Thucydides who simply states that the first settlers at Eryx and Segesta were Trojans who came after the taking of Troy, we have the narratives of Lykophron and Dionysius, who tell us that Segesta was founded by Aigestos, son of the daughter of the Trojan Phoinodamas who lived in the time of King Laomedon. When the war broke out Aigestos went back to Troy to help his kinsmen against the Greeks, subsequently returning to Sicily with one Elymus, a son of Anchises. In one version Aeneas is not even mentioned; in another Aigestos is said to have entertained him on his way to Italy and by his help to have founded the cities of Aigesta (Segesta) and Eryx. I lay some stress on this story because it shows clearly that there were influences at work—quite independently of any religious cult—which directed the claims of these western cities toward Troy.

In conclusion, the most probable explanation of the story of Aeneas' wanderings is that poets and annalists, building on the tradition that he escaped from Troy, which as we have seen is as old as Homer, invented a tale of wanderings after the manner of their kind; and this story was used by ambitious settlements in various parts of the Mediterranean in furthering their claims to a heroic founder. The story became current independently of the diffusion of the cult of Aphrodite. The contribution of the cult to the legend was that it served to localize it in certain places, just as accidental similarity of name localized it in others. (Cf. the case of the city of Aineia in Chalcidice.) In a comparatively few places the coincidence of legend and cult resulted in the association of Aeneas and Aphrodite in religious ceremonies, and from this association came the cult title, *Ἀφροδίτη Αἰνεϊάς*, with which the title Zeus-Agamemnon may be compared.¹ In Latium, however, it is especially worthy of note, the legend is wholly free from the influence of any local cult of Aphrodite.

¹ Cf. also Apollo-Asklepios, and Poseidon-Erechtheus. See Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, II, 638 ff.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN 1909. PART I.

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From a purely American point of view, the most interesting archaeological news of the year 1909 was the announcement that two important ancient sites, Sardis and Cyrene, are to be explored by Americans. The expedition to Cyrene was organized by the Archaeological Institute and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and is to be in charge of Professor Richard Norton, the former director of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome. The expedition to Sardis is under the direction of Professor Howard Crosby Butler of Princeton, who conducted the very successful "Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria" in 1904-5 and 1909. The work at Sardis has already begun (in the spring of 1910), with most encouraging results. The excavations at Cyrene are to begin early in the fall. *τούτοις μὲν οὕτως εὐτυχεῖν δοίεν θεοί.*

Another interesting announcement is that Dr. Wiegand has made an agreement with the prince of Samos, by which the Berlin Museum will be permitted to carry on excavations in Samos for ten years. In view of the striking discoveries that have been made in the island, such as the "Hera of Samos" and the statue of Aeakes, and of the great importance of the Samian school of the sixth century, the results of these investigations will be awaited with interest. The funds are to be raised by private subscription, and already 20,000 marks have been subscribed for work at the famous Heraeum.

In Asia Minor, the explorations of the Germans at Pergamum and Miletus and those of the Austrians at Ephesus have gone steadily forward.¹ At Pergamum, the campaign of 1909, like that

¹ For the account which follows I have, as usual, to acknowledge special indebtedness to Mr. Dawkins' "Archaeology in Greece," in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXIX (1909), 354-65, and to the "Archaeological News" in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, XIII (1909), 352-64, and XIV (1910), 101-20.

of 1908, was principally devoted to the region of the great gymnasium, and especially to a sanctuary of Demeter which was discovered close to the gymnasium itself. Here were found a propylon, a temple, a stoa, and numerous altars, dedicated to Zeus, Hermes, Asklepios, Helios, and others. The temple can be dated in or near the year 262 B.C.; it was built in honor of Boa, the mother of Philetaerus, founder of the Attalid dynasty. An especially interesting find is a marble altar dedicated to "The Unknown Gods," which recalls St. Paul's famous speech to the Athenians. The brief reports which have been published speak also of numerous inscriptions, and of fragments of a statue of Demeter, a relief representing the goddess standing near an altar with a torch in her left hand, a statue of Asklepios, heads of Hermes and Eros, and four Roman heads, including portraits of Augustus and the elder Agrippina. During the year, Vol. III, 2 of the *Allertümer von Pergamon* was published, devoted to the friezes of the Great Altar.

For Miletus the latest reports cover the fall of 1908 and the spring of 1909. In the former year, several portions of the Hellenistic-Roman city were explored. Some interesting baths show a form which marks the transition from a Hellenistic gymnasium to baths of the typical Roman form. The so-called South Market-Place, it appeared, consisted in Hellenistic times of an eastern colonnade with chambers and a horseshoe-shaped colonnade on the other three sides, with a street between the buildings; in Roman times this was converted into a closed market-place with a monumental gateway. West of this agora was found a late Roman temple of Serapis and Isis, richly decorated. Especially noteworthy is the fact that it had the form of a Christian basilica, with two rows of unchanneled monolithic columns in the interior. Between the old city and the later city wall, trial trenches brought to light a mass of early house walls and vase fragments of the sixth century, showing that the old town of Miletus was much more extensive than had before been suspected. In the spring of 1909 attention was directed especially to the great temple of Apollo at Didyma. At the northeast corner the blocks of the corner column and the complete entablature were found in order just as they had fallen. Before the eastern end the broad terrace for dedicatory offerings

and the northern end of the pre-Persian stoa were completely cleared. In the pronaos of the temple the mediaeval constructions were all removed, and the great monoliths that formed the eastern doorway can now be seen. On either side of the central doorway was a smaller door leading in each case into an underground, barrel-vaulted passage. These passages run under the first chamber of the temple and afford direct communication with the cella, which, as is well known, is some five meters lower than the floor of the colonnade. The work of removing the heavy blocks which encumber the temple is extremely difficult and time-consuming, but the German excavators, with characteristic thoroughness, propose to continue until the whole temple is cleared.

For Ephesus the latest reports which I have seen cover the work of the year 1908. The Odeum, which was partially excavated by Wood in 1864, was completely dug out and shown to be a typical Roman theater, with sunken orchestra and low stage. South of this a long colonnade was excavated. The Ionic capitals with the fore part of a bull on either side (some of which were found by Wood) are explained by the fact that the columns were originally very widely spaced; later a new column was placed in every intercolumniation. Still farther south, beyond a broad square, was found a large water tower, built, evidently, at different times. The latest construction, as was shown by an inscription on an architrave, dates from the time of Constantine and Constans. Here were found a number of statues, including two headless Roman figures in full armor, presumably portraits of the two emperors, and fragments of a colossal seated figure, probably a river god. Finally, the so-called grave of St. Luke was examined. It proved to be the socle of a round building which had been converted in Christian times into a small chapel, but nothing appeared to show its original purpose.

Among the islands of the Aegean, Crete still continues the most productive, though the results seem less startling than in former years, perhaps because we have become accustomed to expect surprises from this "archaeologists' paradise." It was Dr. Evans' intention not to dig at Knossos in 1909, but the discovery of stone vases near the site of the Royal Tomb of Isopata induced him to

undertake researches at this spot. Excavation revealed a stone chamber with a pavilion-shaped roof, similar to that of the Royal Tomb and dating from the Middle Minoan period. The tomb had been plundered, but a number of small objects were recovered, including a fine gold-mounted intaglio, showing a large Molossian dog and two men, and an engraved gold ring with a representation of four women dancing and above this a religious ceremonial. The tomb appears to have formed part of an extensive cemetery, earlier in date than the necropolis already excavated and likely to repay excavation. In the Little Palace, also, the lower part of an Egyptian vase of diorite was found, with the remains of an inscription in hieroglyphic characters. The date is thought to be not later than the Thirteenth Dynasty, and it is hoped that this may prove helpful in determining the dates of the Cretan stone vases. The first volume of Dr. Evans' *Scripta Minoa* was one of the important publications of the year.

At Phaistos, as in 1908, the excavators devoted themselves to problems connected with the earlier palace. South of the great west court (the "theatral area") were found, first of all, house walls associated with Hellenistic pottery and, rarely, older remains; then fragments of Kamares (Middle Minoan) ware; and on the level of the court (which is that of the earlier palace), a square cistern and a circular well. From the vase fragments found it is clear that both the cistern and the well belong to the older palace and were disused when the second palace was built. On the north-east slope of the hill the room where the inscribed disc was found in 1908 was thoroughly cleared. Above it was found a Greek wall, which was removed, and below the wall potsherds dating from Hellenistic to Middle Minoan times. The room itself appears to have been one of a series of magazines, or underground storage chambers. Closely connected with this series of rooms is a portico which is said to resemble the northern entrance of the palace at Knossos. It opens toward the north and has two rows of three supports (in each case two square pillars with a circular base between them), flanking an entrance way which ends at a flight of eighteen stairs leading up to the eastern court of the palace. The portico evidently formed a part of the earlier palace, but con-

tinued to be used during the period of the later palace. The room of the disc, however, and the adjoining magazines seem not to have been used after the time of the earlier structure. This evidence is of importance, since it serves to date the disc in the Middle Minoan period.

The richness of Crete from an archaeological point of view is constantly emphasized by the discovery of new sites. In the spring of 1909 traces of an important Minoan settlement were discovered at Tylissos, a few hours west of Knossos. The finds include a magazine filled with large pithoi, a bronze hydria, an uninjured bronze kettle measuring 1.40 meters in diameter, seal stones, and inscribed tablets dating from Middle Minoan III or Late Minoan I. The finds certainly suggest the existence of a palace, and it is reported that Dr. Hatzidakis, the Senior Ephor of Antiquities, plans to make a thorough investigation of the site. On the road from Gortyn to Candia, some two hours north of the former place, Dr. Hatzidakis found traces of a Minoan citadel and excavated a few simple houses—relics, no doubt, of one of a line of settlements that protected the trade-route from the plain of Messará to the northern side of the island. In the plain itself, at Kalathianá, an hour west of Gortyn, Dr. Xanthoudides excavated a beehive tomb and some houses, which correspond in date to the settlements near Koumása which he explored in 1908. Finally, mention should be made of another site discovered by Dr. Hatzidakis, which belongs to a much later period. Close to Gortyn, in the hills north of the city, a small excavation in May, 1909, brought to light a great deposit of votive offerings which clearly come from some much frequented sanctuary. Thousands of clay lamps, many terra-cotta figurines, and some simple vases were recovered, dating from the fifth to the second century B.C. All these are of native workmanship, without a trace of imported wares. Among the lamps many elaborate forms occur, such as rings with holes for numerous wicks and tall stands carrying a number of single lamps grouped together at the top. The majority of the terra-cottas represent standing women and boys holding a small pig—a detail which suggests Demeter as the goddess who was worshiped here. A figure of the goddess herself is, unfortunately, without

attributes. A series of larger, well-made figures recall types that are familiar in the sculpture of the fourth century. The forms of the vases are said to show reminiscences of Kamares ware—a remarkable instance of survival, since these vases can hardly be earlier than the fourth century B.C.

Of the work of the French School at Delos in 1909 I have seen no account, but a report by M. Holleaux for 1908 makes it possible to supplement my very summary notice of last year in many ways. A careful examination of the remains of the ancient port showed that, far from being a natural harbor, as had before been supposed, it was almost entirely artificial, protected on the west by two great breakwaters, bounded on the east and south by well-built quays 145 meters and 50 meters respectively in length, and on the north by a mass of rock ballast, which protected the agora of Theophrastus. The development of the harbor followed closely the development of the sanctuary and the town of Delos. The oldest part seems to be the larger breakwater, which may have been begun in Mycenaean times; the quays were built partly in the archaic, partly in the Hellenistic period; and the rock-work near the agora of Theophrastus is probably contemporary with the final arrangement of the agora itself in the second half of the second century B.C. The complete excavation of this market-place revealed traces of two large buildings, badly destroyed, but probably built for business purposes. Northwest of these and west of the hypostyle hall discovered in 1907 were numerous remains of houses of many periods, prehistoric, early Greek, Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine. With the most ancient walls on the lowest levels were found fragments of Mycenaean style. In the temenos of Apollo considerable work was done, and the excavation of the sacred precinct is now regarded as complete. The great temple of Apollo was cleared down to the bed rock, without revealing any trace of earlier foundations, though elsewhere in the precinct early walls associated with Mycenaean, geometric, and proto-Corinthian sherds were found. The temple itself dates for the most part from the end of the fifth century or the beginning of the fourth, but the top course of the walls, the geison, the sima, and the back walls of the pediments, are not earlier than the third century. This suggests that the

Delians found it difficult to complete the temple, a theory which is confirmed by the fact that the columns were never fluted. The Ionic building southwest of the temple, which was discovered by M. Homolle in 1877, is now plausibly identified as the *oikos Naξίων* mentioned in inscriptions. It has a portico of four columns at front and back and the interior is divided by a range of columns down the middle. The architectural details are markedly archaic, so that the building is to be assigned to the sixth century. In the sanctuary of Artemis, which was a separate enclosure inside the sacred precinct, the larger temple was shown, contrary to the opinion of the earlier excavators, to be the older. The smaller temple, an Ionic amphiprostyle building, with four columns at each end, cannot be dated earlier than the third century; the cella, however, is of ruder construction than the rest of the building, perhaps even earlier than the larger temple. Just east of the precinct of Artemis a mass of vase-fragments was discovered similar to those found some years ago on the island of Rheneia. The fragments from Rheneia are commonly believed to represent the graves which were removed from Delos when the Athenians "purified" the island in 426-425 B.C., and the finding of similar vases on Delos itself goes far to confirm this theory. Finally, the excavations of 1908 brought to light many interesting traces of the water supply of ancient Delos. Investigation of the course of the Inopos, the one small river on the island, showed that its waters were collected in a large reservoir 40 meters long, 8 to 10 meters wide, and some 5 meters deep, dating from the third century B.C. This reservoir was fed by springs at the bottom, as well as by the river. It was beautifully built of marble blocks, with a wide flight of steps on one side, and connected with a system of canals by which the water was distributed to lower levels. Just outside of the Great Portico, also, there was discovered a public fountain, cut in the native rock to a depth of seven meters. It was inclosed by walls on three sides, but on the north was built an entrance portico with six Doric columns. Inside, a flight of ten steps led down to a parapet. As no trace of the superstructure was found with the exception of some fragments of a terra-cotta revetment, it is plausibly argued that the entablature was of wood. A badly mutilated inscription

found among the ruins gives the text of certain regulations as to the use of the water, and a relief of the second century representing three seated goddesses and a herm bears the inscription *Σπόριος Στεργίλιος Σπορίου Νύμφαις Μινωταῖν*. This identifies the structure as the *κρήνη Μινώη* (*Μινωτα, Μινωτή, Μινωτα*) which is frequently mentioned in the Delian inscriptions. The building appears to have been built early in the fifth century and rebuilt in the second. It was at the bottom of this fountain that the Hellenistic bronze relief with a representation of a sacrifice to Hecate, which was mentioned in last year's report, was found.

At Athens the last months of 1909 saw the foreign schools involved in difficulties arising from the political activities of the so-called Military League. Among the officials chosen for attack by the reformers was Professor Kavvadias, the Ephor-General of Antiquities and secretary of the Archaeological Society. On November 22 the leading editorial in the *Chronos*, which was generally recognized as the chief organ of the League, was devoted to a series of charges against Professor Kavvadias. Along with many other things, he was accused of favoring the foreign schools at the expense of the Greeks, of allowing foreigners to excavate with the money of the Greek Archaeological Society, and with receiving honors and decorations at the hands of foreign governments in payment for these services(!). The directors of the foreign schools at once published a statement which pointed out the groundlessness and the petty character of the charges, and these particular accusations were afterward withdrawn. Nevertheless, the League succeeded in driving Professor Kavvadias into exile for a time—a proceeding that recalls the old Athens of the fifth century—and afterward, in March, 1910, brought about the abolition of the office of Ephor-General. In its place was organized an Archaeological Council of ten (of which Professor Kavvadias was made a member), charged with general superintendence of archaeological interests in Greece. By the new arrangement the Archaeological Society is deprived of the subvention which it formerly received from the government, and all financial matters connected with archaeological work are to be administered by the new council. Just what the effect of these changes will be is as yet problematical,

but it seems obvious from the general attitude of the Athenian press that we need not fear for the foreign schools. During the year a new Italian school was established. Its first Director is Professor Luigi Pernier, well known from his successful conduct of the work at Phaistos.

The Greek Society, as in former years, devoted a large part of its funds to the strengthening and reconstruction of ancient buildings in Athens and elsewhere. The work on the Erechtheum has been completed, and last year a beginning was made on the Propylaea. Considerable parts of the eastern portico have been put in place and the stones from other parts of the building have been assembled. The region in front of the Beulé gate has been cleared and the approach to it improved; and the tower of Cimon is to be strengthened by the insertion of new blocks. In connection with this work a thorough study of the western slope of the Acropolis is being made by Mr. Dinsmoor, Carnegie Fellow in Architecture in the American School.

The continuation of the excavation near the "Theseum" has produced no important results, owing largely to the fact that this whole region was used as a burial ground during the period when the temple was used as a church.

In the Dipylon graveyard, Dr. Brückner made further investigations and continued to find the grave-monuments set up on high podia, which in the case of family graves at least are quadrangular inclosures filled with earth, the front wall being most carefully built. When necessary there is a special foundation for the monument. The most interesting results were obtained in examining the inclosure of Agathon the Heracleote. Here the broad, stuccoed podium dates from the latter half of the fourth century and is an enlargement of the original inclosure. This was broadened more to the left than to the right (as one faces the monument), and consequently the stele of Agathon and Sosicrates, while it is set exactly in the axis of the original podium, is off the axis of the second one. The original podium reaches a ground level corresponding to that of the tomb of Dexileos. Evidently, therefore, from the time of this tomb (394 B.C.) to that of the Heracleotes the street level did not rise. When it was raised later, the Heracleotes' podium was

extended slightly and restuccoed. In the earth inside the podium were found, deeply buried, two sarcophagi of shelly limestone and two of bluish marble. One of the marble examples was placed between the two limestone ones, the other marble sarcophagus was placed about a meter higher. Higher still, to the right, were the remains of a funeral pyre not quite consumed, and there were other burials in the earth above the sarcophagi.

In Boeotia, Professor Burrows and Mr. Ure examined twenty more graves at Rhitsóna and found them, like those which were dug in 1908, richly stocked with vases and figurines. The importance of this necropolis is clear from the detailed reports of some of the tombs published in the *British School Annual*, XIV, 226-318, and the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1909), 308-53; the richness of the tombs is shown by the statement that the excavators have 2,400 sixth-century vases and figurines still unpublished. The contents of each grave are to be kept separate in the local museum at Thebes—a plan that will greatly enhance their value for students.

Farther north, Messrs. Wace, Thompson, and Peet, searching for neolithic settlements such as were discovered at Zerélia in 1908, excavated two new tumuli, one called Paleómylos at Lianokládi on the left bank of the Spercheios near Neopatras, the other called Tsáni Magoúla near Kierion in western Thessaly. In both mounds the traces of successive settlements (three at Paleómylos, eight at Tsáni Magoúla) were clearly marked, and the pottery and other finds confirm the excavators in their belief that the neolithic civilization lingered on in northern Greece long after the use of bronze was known in the southern regions.

[To be concluded in the December number]

Notes

Contributions in the form of notes or discussions should be sent to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

"VELA CADUNT," VERG. *AEN.* III. 207

The translation of this phrase by "the sails are furled," or an equivalent, has become so stereotyped that it may seem bold to question its correctness. The lexicons appear to be unanimous for this meaning. Georges (7th ed.) translates *cadunt* by "eingezogen werden," and Lewis, *School Dict.*, and *Elem. Lat. Dict.*, by "are furled." The phrase does not seem to be cited by Forcellini-De Vit, Klotz, or Lewis and Short, a serious omission, whatever its meaning.

In the *Thes. Ling. Lat.*, III, 20, 70, the example from Vergil is cited in connection with Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 585 and *Ars Amat.* i. 373; Lucan, v. 432; and Gloss. iv. 468. 28, *vela cadunt deficientibus ventis*. This last example, and the fact that the Vergilian passage is not separated from the others, seem to suggest that the writer of the article *cado* took the words in the sense that will be mentioned below. But since the ordinary meaning "fall" suits all, or nearly all, the examples in section I. A. 2, where these passages are cited, some comment seems called for, if the writer did not accept the traditional meaning given by Georges; cf. also Stowasser, *Wörterbuch* (1900), who renders *cadunt* by "gehen nieder, senken sich." Since more than two lines could be spared in *Thes.* i. 39. 55 ff., to pillory an alleged mistranslation of *ab maioribus* in Vit. vi. 3. 5 (see *Class. Phil.* II, 113), it would seem that either *demittuntur* or *detumescunt* might have been inserted after *vela cadunt*, and all chance of misunderstanding avoided.¹

It has not seemed worth while to make a complete examination of the innumerable translations and editions of Vergil, but I have looked into a large number of them, enough I think to justify me in referring to the meaning given above as the traditional one. This traditional meaning is found in all the English translations which I have consulted, from Dryden's "the canvas falls" to Williams' "down came our sails" (1908), including both the prose and the verse translation of Conington. The same is true of the German commentators, so far as I have examined them, and of the English and American editions. Many editors do not translate the words at all, and in such cases it is natural to infer that they accept the traditional rendering, as indeed is frequently implied by their comments on the passage as a whole. For example, "it would seem that in all difficult

¹ A rereading of the article "*cado*" in the *Thes. L.L.* makes it seem probable that the writer had in mind the meaning *demittuntur*. With the meaning *detumescunt* the examples should stand under II, not under I.

places, as when nearing the coast, the ancients used only their oars" (Greenough and Kittredge), and "they exchange sails for oars, in order to have the ships more under their control as they approach the shore" (Dennison-Frieze), which are typical, clearly imply a belief that the change is dictated by choice and not by necessity.¹

In only three instances have I found what I feel sure is the correct translation: in Benoist, who has "les voiles tombent, cessent d'être tendues"; in the prose version given in the Delphin edition (Valpy reprint, Lond., 1829), which is *vela dehumescent*; and in Henry, *Aeneidea*, II. 403, who cites Heyne, Voss, Peerlkamp, Thiel, and Jal (*Verg. Naut.*, 379) for the traditional rendering *demituntur*. Heyne, in spite of his rendering, cites Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 585 as parallel, as do Benoist and Henry correctly for their version.

That this is the true meaning in the Vergilian passage seems evident from the fact that it is the only possible one in the parallel passages cited by the *Thes. Ling. Lat.*, and because, once one's doubts are aroused, *vela cadunt* does not seem a natural equivalent of *vela contrahere* or *subducere*. Moreover, it suits the context. The breeze fails the sailors as they near the land, as often happens, and they resort to the oars. Either they did not take time to furl the sails (note *haud mora*) or if they did, the poet does not think it worth while to mention the circumstance. That the oars were sometimes used without lowering the sails is highly probable, and in fact is shown by the passage from Lucan which is cited below, if Francken's interpretation of it is correct, as it seems to be. Usually, however, the sails would be brailled up on the yards (see the passage from Ovid, *Fasti*, below) to make the rowing easier, unless the distance to be traversed was short. That the sails were commonly *brailled up* and not *lowered* in such cases is clearly shown by numerous passages and works of art. Even in the Homeric ship either could be done. See *Odys.* iii. 10, *ιστία νηὸς ἐλας στείλαν δέλφαιτες* and *Id.* ix. 149, *κελεύσασσι δὲ νηυσὶ καθέλομεν ιστία πάντα*. The latter seems to have been done when the ships were beached; the former when the oars were used.

Let us now examine the other passages. Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 585 ff., reads as follows:

Vela cadunt primo, et dubia librantur ab aura
 "Findite remigio" navita dixit "aquas!"
 Dumque parant torto subducere carbasa lino,
 Percutitur rapido puppis adunca noto
 Inque patens aequor, frustra pugnante magistro,
 Fertur, et ex oculis visa refugit humus.

Here the meaning is perfectly clear. The sails become flat and sway to and fro in the shifting breeze. The sailors attempt to brail them up (note *subducere*),

¹ Some editors of school texts who do not commit themselves to the traditional meaning in their notes do so in their vocabularies, either directly, by giving that meaning under *cado* (Greenough, Bennett), or indirectly, by omitting the other meaning (Knapp, Carter).

but before they can do so, the south wind strikes the canvas and sweeps the ship out to sea. As Peter says, "Die Segel sinken schaff herunter, weil der volle Wind aufhört." No one, so far as I know, translates *vela cadunt* in this passage by "the sails drop (are furled)," although some editors do not make any comment at all. No one seems to cite as parallel *Aen.* iii. 207, naturally enough perhaps, since it is so generally taken in a different sense, although the contrast in meaning might well be referred to by those who believe that the meaning is not the same in the two passages. But it seems wholly unlikely that Ovid, especially in lines so reminiscent of Vergil, should have used the phrase with a meaning entirely different from that given it by the earlier poet.

In Ovid, *Ars Amat.* i. 373, *sed propera, ne vela cadant auraeque residant*, we have precisely the same meaning; cf. Brandt, "Eile, damit nicht beim nachlassen des dir günstigen Windes das Segel zusammen falle." Of course a case of hysteron-proteron.

So too in Lucan v. 427 ff. (Francken):

flexo navita cornu
Obliquat laevo pede carbasa, summaque pandens
Suppara velorum *perituras colligit auras*.
Ut primum levior propellere lintea ventus
Incipit *exiguumque tument*, mox *redlita malo*
In mediam cecidere ratem.

Here Francken's comment is: "(vela) reiecta in malum reciderunt in mediam navem. Pendent vela et cursum navis (remis adactae) non aequat ventus sed tardior est."

Evidently the phrase *vela cadunt* is the regular (technical?) expression for the flattening out of a sail from loss of wind, and it seems very improbable that Vergil used it in a different sense. If he did, which I cannot myself believe, the editors of Vergil should comment on it, Ovid, *Fasts*, iii. 585 should not be cited as parallel, and our lexicons should give both meanings.

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"LARGITER POSSE," CAES. *B.G.* i. 18. 4-6

The late Professor Morgan, in his *Addresses and Essays*, 14, records a joke of Livy's, which he accompanied by a wink at the appreciative reader. He concludes: "Is it necessary to put up a signboard with a printed notice, 'The following is a joke'? It seems so for many Europeans; but let not us Americans be so stolid."

These words give me courage to commit to print another of my *marginalia*, which I jotted down many years ago. In Caesar, *B.G.* i. 18. 4, it is said of Dumnorix: "his rebus et suam rem familiarem auxisse et facultates ad *largiendum* magnas comparasse." In sect. 6 Caesar continues: "neque solum domi sed etiam apud finitimas civitates *largiter posse*." It seems probable that in the last

two words Caesar is punning on *largiendum*, and that he wrote them with a wink at the reader and with a grin at his own cleverness.

I foresee that this idea will be received with incredulity, if not with derision. It may even be suspected that I am indulging in a wink at the expense of the philological public; but I am quite serious, and the scoffer may give, if he can, a better reason for Caesar's use of *largiter* in this connection.

Largiter (the regular form is of course *large*) is used by various writers from Plautus to Apuleius, and its history seems to indicate that it belongs to the language of everyday life. It is, however, used twice by Lucretius, vi. 1110 and 622. See Merrill on the latter passage, who omits from the list of those who use the word Brutus apud Cic., *auct. Bell. Afr.*, Suet. and Apul. But *largiter posse* seems to be unique, and Caesar's regular expressions, as well as those of other writers, are *plurimum posse* and *valere*.

That Caesar had a sense of humor is shown by his appreciation of the very creditable pun of the soldier of the tenth legion (*B.G.* i. 42. 6). That the Romans in general were inordinately fond of word-plays is of course well known, and that they sometimes used them out of season is sufficiently shown by Ovid, *Fasti*, iii, 545 f.:

Arserat Aeneae Dido miserabilis igne,
Arserat exstructis in sua fata rogis.

If Livy could indulge in an occasional wink, we need not be incredulous about a pun in Caesar. This one may be so obvious that I am setting up a signboard solely for the use of Europeans, but I have not seen it referred to by any of the editors.

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Practice and Prospect

Edited by J. J. SCHLICHER

It is the purpose of this department, by short articles and otherwise, to reflect the conditions, practice, and aims of classical teaching, and to make the readers of the *Journal* acquainted with such new undertakings and developments along these lines as seem to be of interest and value to them. Communications should be addressed to J. J. Schlicher, 1811 North Eighth St., Terre Haute, Ind.

THE BOSTON MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS AND ITS SERVICE TO CLASSICAL TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

A graduate of an efficient school in Boston once said to me: "I took the greatest interest in my Greek, but no one ever told me that I could see in the museum the things the Greeks actually made—the marbles and vases that would have illustrated Homer." It is one aim of the Museum of Fine Arts to co-operate with the schools in meeting the need that such a confession expresses; to establish a vital relation between the study of ancient languages and the visible monuments of ancient civilization. It is hoped not only that the reading of Homer and Virgil may gain in concrete interest and color through this relation, but also that incidentally, from contact with intrinsically good examples of Greek workmanship in marble, bronze, or terra-cotta, the student may learn to notice the qualities that distinguish the plastic and graphic arts of Greece and Rome as well as their literature. Hence, the Museum makes its classical collection accessible and helpful to teachers by an attractive and intelligible arrangement of objects, by publication of catalogues, handbooks, and bulletins, and finally, by oral instruction and interpretation, either in the galleries or in the classrooms.

The possibilities of success in this effort have been indefinitely increased by the removal of the collections to the new Museum on Huntington Avenue, near the Fenway. The east wing of the building has been appropriated to the exhibitions and the offices of the classical department. In accordance with the general principle of arrangement, the most significant and beautiful objects are grouped historically on the main (second) floor, while the rooms immediately below are given to a secondary and more compact exhibition, arranged according to technique and material.

The first room of the historical series contains objects ranging in date from the era of early Cretan civilization to the end of the sixth century B.C. At first sight the visitor will wonder, it may be, why so few things are shown. But it will appear that each one has its special significance in the series, and that altogether they cast light from many angles on the life of ancient Greece. The student of history will note some of the early pottery as evidence of the

commercial importance of Corinth and the Ionian cities in the age of colonization; its decorative motives will suggest the contact of the Greeks with the more ancient civilized peoples of the East, with Egypt and Assyria. If he is reading Homer, he will be entertained by an early picture of Circe and her victims; the white-sailed ships painted on the inner rim of a mixing-bowl will recall the Homeric ships and the "wine-dark deep" they sailed. The imposing funeral amphoras from Boeotia, an elaborately decorated sarcophagus from Clazomenae in Asia Minor, and a finely carved stele from the Troad illustrate the various ways in which Greeks of early times commemorated their dead. Their private life is reflected in one way or another by almost all the small objects: by the forms of vases and implements of bronze; by the pictures on vases, illustrating customs and dress, or even showing the interior of a smithy or a shoemaker's shop; by a series of little terra-cotta groups, which, though hastily modeled, yet reproduce much characteristic detail in everyday scenes—a weary little wood-cutter resting beside his bundle of fagots; women making bread and cooking; a careful barber cutting a man's hair. An interest in Greek religion and mythology will lead the student to the remarkable votive statuettes in bronze which show in what form the Greeks of the sixth century B.C. imagined Aphrodite and Artemis and Hermes.

The Fifth Century Room exhibits the achievement of Greek art in the period when, if one age is to be rated higher than another, the national genius of Hellas reached its culmination. Historically, the beautifully decorated vases in this room prove the artistic and industrial supremacy of Athens. The athletic figures so often painted on them are an expression of that enthusiasm for efficient training of bodily powers which marked the period of the Persian wars. Superb examples of Greek gold jewelry show the luxury of personal adornment that could be commanded by the rich. There are the exquisitely carved stones with which the Greeks and their Italian imitators, the Etruscans, sealed their letters; there is an inscribed bronze key which unlocked the temple of Artemis at a remote Arcadian shrine; there is a tall ceremonial vase on which an Athenian wedding procession is depicted. The most important object in the room is a marble relief, in shape and style the counterpart of the famous "Ludovisi throne" in Rome. It is the only representation in Greek sculpture of that *psychostasia*, or weighing of souls, which is described in Greek poetry and shown on some objects of the minor arts.

The next two rooms are devoted exclusively to classical marbles, chiefly of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. The head of Aphrodite, the veiled head of a goddess from Chios, and the Hellenistic portrait of Homer are among the most valued possessions of the Museum.

The historical sequence is resumed by the Fourth Century Room. The costume and the manner of Greek ladies are attractively illustrated by the Tanagra figurines which have the most prominent place in this room. The collection of little Erotes, colored shields, and gold jewels found in a single

tomb in Greece teach the solicitude with which the ancients placed about the dead reminders of their pleasant life on earth, even in its gayest aspects.

In the next room are grouped objects of the late Greek and Roman periods. By far the most significant is a portrait in terra-cotta of an unknown Roman. Its realistic detail suggests the use of a life mask; but the artist has gone deeper than physical fact, and has delineated with astonishing force and vividness a characteristic personality of the Republic. The cameo gems shown in the same room recall the sumptuous appointments of the Empire. In the gallery of the adjoining court the Roman series is continued by a number of sculptures, including two excellent portraits of Augustus.

On the ground floor the room usually visited first is the classical court, where teachers and pupils will be especially attracted by a case of ancient implements and armor—genuine and interesting examples of the Greek helmet and greave and strigil. Two rooms opening from the court are devoted to the large collection of Greek vases, which affords endless illustrative material in mythology and in the private life and customs of the Greeks. A third room contains a collection of terra-cotta statuettes and reliefs. On this floor also is the office of the curator, who may be consulted on questions not sufficiently answered by the arrangement and the labeling of objects in the galleries.

A selection of plaster casts from ancient sculptures in European museums is also arranged on the ground floor of the Museum, beginning in the large, well-lighted court at the right of the main entrance, where reproductions of the great pediment groups from the Parthenon, from Olympia, and from Aegina can be effectively shown, and continued through two smaller rooms.

It will be observed throughout the collection that although it is full of archaeological and historical interest, hardly any object is chosen for such interest alone; almost all are, in their kinds, rare examples of the Greek vitality of imagination and the Greek technical skill. Any visitor who is interested in the history of Greek art will not only discern the individual qualities of these things; he will be able to perceive, more readily than in most museums, how the same spirit and the same motives controlled the various degrees and kinds of artistic endeavor in one period, whether its expression took the form of sculptured frieze or painted vase.

Appropriate installation of the collections, however, although the first and most important duty of the Museum in relation to the public, is only one of the means employed to attract the attention of the schools. The significance of the collections is explained both by the written and the spoken word. A *Handbook* of the Museum contains a selection of the most important objects of Greek and Roman art, intended for the layman and the elementary student. It is hoped that complete and scientific catalogues of the original objects of classical art in the Museum may also be published. The *Bulletin* of the Museum, which appears once in two months, gives news of additions in the classical as well as in other departments. For the benefit of teachers, the

Museum has further made mimeographed lists of objects specifically illustrating ancient history and the classics usually read in schools. The local councils of teachers of ancient languages and history have themselves entertained the plan of preparing a handbook of the classical collections expressly for the use of pupils in the high school. Teachers have free access to the library of the Museum, where they may consult books relating to classical art and archaeology, and a large collection of photographs of Greek sculpture and architecture.

Besides this, through its docents the Museum offers competent guidance to teachers who wish such interpretation of the collections, either for themselves or for their classes. The instruction thus given is adapted to the requirements of the class or teacher, whether it be to see the most interesting objects throughout the department, or only a limited number illustrating a particular period or phase of ancient civilization. This innovation in the Museum's service to the public has been particularly successful, and during the past winter many classes have visited the classical collections under the informal instruction of a docent. Teachers are of course also allowed and encouraged to guide their own pupils in the galleries, if they prefer to do so.

A particularly valuable and interesting system of utilizing the classical collections of the Museum in the study of the history of Greece and Rome has been developed by Miss Anna Boynton Thompson of the Thayer Academy in South Braintree, with the co-operation of officers of the Museum. Miss Thompson has prepared a series of more than six hundred half-tone cuts illustrating objects of ancient art from the prehistoric age to the era of the Roman Empire. These illustrations are, so far as practicable, drawn from the classical collection in the Museum.

The ways in which these illustrations can be used are manifold. For instance, the group of cuts illustrating a certain period may be given to the student at the proper point in his studies, with the request to arrange them chronologically on a cardboard chart which is accompanied by a printed outline of the political and the literary history of the epoch. The work of arranging the small pictures will enforce the idea of relationship between objects of the same date. The completed chart is kept before him by each student, both when he studies the period by himself and when it is discussed in class. Furthermore, he is instructed to visualize several of the objects daily, upon which the teacher makes comment. By means of this visualization and comment the student is able, when work on the period is ended, not only to describe its art objects and to compare them with those of the previous epochs he has studied, but—what is far more important—to identify them in the Museum. For the daily work described culminates in the monthly visits to the Museum, when he studies the originals of the cuts under the guidance of the docent, and is asked to make a sketch from some work of art that has been examined; not, of course, with the idea that the sketch is of intrinsic value, but in order to

teach the observation of detail necessary for appreciation. Such sketches have been made for several years under the supervision of assistants from the Massachusetts Normal Art School, who have generously given their services.

The method used by the Homer class is somewhat different. As the text is being read, the subjects in it chosen by the Greeks for visual representation are noted by consultation of Engelmann's *Atlas* and Overbeck's *Gallerie and Griechische Kunstmythologie*. A letter to the docent each month requests permission to see whatever related originals the Museum possesses, and to hear his interpretation of them, in the ensuing monthly visit. The testimony of every class has been that this work yields one of the most interesting, instructive, and practical results of the study of Homer.

The historical charts described above have been published under the title of *A Graphic Companion to Greek and Roman Studies*, and with the author's consent, the Museum is enabled to sell these to teachers. The unmounted halftones can also be furnished to those who can adopt, either wholly, or with modification suited to the special needs of their classes, the Thayer Academy system of correlating textbook and classroom instruction with study of real documents of ancient history and real examples of classical art.

Regular courses of study designed particularly for teachers are also conducted at the Museum by members of the staff or by other authorized lecturers, in association with the general plan of university extension in Boston. During the next winter, for example, a topical course in ancient civilization as illustrated by the monuments is to be given by the Director of the Museum, assisted by members of the staff. The lectures are to be supplemented by exercises in which the teachers who take the course will be asked to contribute each week to the investigation of some particular object of art related to the subject of the lectures. In this way it is expected that members of the class will attain a considerable acquaintance with the classical collection, and that they will learn methods of using it which will promote independent study and discovery both in their own interest and in that of their classes.

Readers of Euripides will remember the eager curiosity with which the Athenian maidens, in *Ion*, view the sculptures of the Delphic temple, recognizing in them those stories of gods and heroes they have known from childhood: Heracles and the Hydra, Bellerophon slaying the Chimaera, and Pallas herself, their own goddess, in conflict with the Giant. It may be hoped that with a little guidance the student of classical literature will bring something of the same enthusiasm of recognition to the Greek collection of a museum. As the chorus in *Ion* confesses that "not in sacred Athens alone" is the splendor of art and ritual to be seen, but at Apollo's shrine as well, so he will come to understand that the genius of Greece, which he has first encountered in the verse of Homer, is no less manifest in her sculptured marbles, and may be traced even in the humbler votive images, and on the coins and painted vases.—SIDNEY N. DEANE.

Current Events

Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Volkmann School, Boston, Mass., for the territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States, west to the Mississippi River; Walter Miller, Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La., for the southern states; and by Frederick C. Eastman, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the territory west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. This department will present everything that is properly news—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.

Recent Appointments, Promotions, and Changes

Columbia University.—Dean Putnam Lockwood, Ph.D., formerly of Harvard, assistant professor of classical philology; Frank Gardner Moore, Ph.D., from Trinity College, Hartford, professor of classical philology; La Rue Van Hook, Ph.D., from Princeton, associate professor of classical philology in Barnard College; Grace Harriet Goodale, A.B., assistant in classical philology in Barnard College.

The following have been promoted: George M. Olcott, from assistant professor to associate professor; T. Leslie Shear, from instructor to associate; Roscoe Guernsey, from tutor to instructor; Edgar H. Sturtevant, from tutor to instructor, in Barnard College.

University of Chicago.—Robert J. Bonner, promoted from assistant professor to associate professor of Greek; Susan H. Ballou, on leave of absence, studying at Göttingen.

Johns Hopkins University.—A. P. Wagener, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, '10, appointed fellow in the American School of Classical studies at Rome; Ralph Van D. Magoffin, promoted from instructor to associate in Greek and Roman history; Professor D. M. Robinson has returned from the annual professorship in Athens.

Cornell University.—Mary B. McElwain, Ph.D., Cornell, '10, appointed instructor in Latin, Smith College; Horace L. Jones, Ph.D., Cornell, '09, appointed assistant professor of Greek; (see Pennsylvania and California).

University of Pennsylvania.—Professor William Alexander Lamberton, Litt.D., professor of the Greek language and literature, died September 8, 1910; Dr. Henry L. Crosby, formerly preceptor at Princeton, appointed assistant professor of Greek; Walter W. Hyde, formerly instructor in Greek at Cornell, appointed instructor in Greek.

University of California.—James T. Allen, promoted from assistant professor to associate professor of Greek; Ivan M. Linforth, promoted from instructor to assistant professor of Greek; Sereno B. Clark, late of Cornell, appointed instructor in Latin.

University of Wisconsin.—Harold W. Gilmer, appointed assistant in Latin.

Harvard University.—C. N. Jackson, promoted from instructor to assistant professor in Greek and Latin; Dr. C. R. Post, appointed instructor in Greek and fine arts; T. A. Miller, appointed instructor in Greek and Latin; H. W. Litchfield, appointed assistant in Greek and Latin (see Columbia).

Northwestern University.—Roy C. Flickinger, promoted to associate professor of Greek.

Brown University.—Professor Francis G. Allinson will be professor in the American School of Classical Studies at Athens this year; Ernest T. Paine, Brown '02, formerly professor in Butler College, has been appointed acting assistant professor in place of Professor Allinson.

University of Virginia.—James Sugars McLemore, appointed instructor in Latin and Greek; Arthur Vaughan Bishop, promoted to second instructor in Latin; Samuel Pendleton Cowardin, Jr., appointed third instructor in Latin.

New England Notes

Boston.—The Museum of Fine Arts (Director Fairbanks and assistants) will give a course of extension lectures on "Ancient Art and Civilization," under the auspices of Harvard University. The course will count for the degree of Associate in Arts, and is especially intended for teachers of history. There will be two lectures and one exercise each week for fifteen weeks. The exercise is intended for the detailed study of some one work of art. A similar course on "The Civilization of the Roman, Byzantine, Gothic, and Renaissance Ages" will be given during the second half-year by Professor John O. Sumner, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Maine.—The fourth annual meeting of the Maine Branch of the Classical Association of New England was held on April 29 and 30, at Colby College, Waterville. The meeting was very successful and the following program was carried out: Friday afternoon: Words of Greeting, Arthur Jeremiah Roberts, of Colby College; a report of the recent meeting at Hartford, of the Classical Association of New England, was made by Professor Frank E. Woodruff, Bowdoin College; "The Teaching of Virgil," Professor Kenneth C. M. Sills, Bowdoin College. Professor Sills led a discussion on the above subject, taking as a starting-point his article in the *Classical Journal* for January, 1910, entitled "The Teaching of Virgil." Brief Business Meeting. "The Mimes of Herondas," Professor Clarence H. White, Colby College; dinner at Foss Hall, as guests of the College. In the evening Professor John C. Kirtland gave a talk on "The New Latin Requirements." The Saturday program was: "De Moribus," Professor Julian D. Taylor, Colby College; "Modern Jokes of an Ancient Wit," Professor Paul Nixon, Bowdoin College; business meeting, for the election of officers.

Massachusetts.—At the last spring meeting of the Harvard Classical Club Mr. W. H. Royster spoke at some length on "Modern Greek." A very successful year was brought to an end by a dinner at the Café Bova, in Boston. The club was addressed by Professors Ferguson, Chase, Moore, Parker, Gulick, and Harris.

Book Reviews

Costume in Roman Comedy. By CATHERINE SAUNDERS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1909. Pp. 145. \$1.25.

A rather striking feature of the archaeological and classical scholarship of the present day is the increasing prominence of women in the fields of research. Not to mention Miss Jane Harrison and Mrs. Arthur Strong from the other side of the Atlantic, we are proud to claim for America Mrs. Hawes, Miss Edith Hall, and Miss Kahnweiler. Quite apart from the increasing prominence which modern conditions give to women in intellectual life, it is only right to admit that, by virtue of their native endowments and tastes, women have a distinct advantage over men in the attempt to solve many questions raised by a study of art and ornamentation. To some such general head may be referred the subject of costume, and here the difficulties always confronting the blundering male who attempts to solve the mysteries of ancient dress will doubtless vanish as our clear-sighted and gifted women face the problems. Miss Van Dieman, Miss Irmagarde Richards, and other students of the American School in Rome have already shown what can be done in this field.

In the book before us the author has brought together the principal literary and artistic evidence bearing upon costume in Roman comedy. To have this in such a convenient form will be a great advantage to all students of the drama. The artistic evidence includes the Terentian miniatures, as reproduced in Bethé's sumptuous work, and the discussion of these represents the most distinctly original contribution made by the author.

The book embraces five chapters under the heads "Sources," "Terminology," "Prologus," "Stock-Rôles," and "Unusual Rôles." The subject of masks is not taken up, because the material involved is ample enough for separate treatment. It is to be regretted that the fragments of comedy are not included in the material used, for it would be more satisfactory to know that, within the limits imposed, the treatment of the subject is complete. An index of all the passages referred to is unfortunately omitted. It is strange that American professors, who so often bewail this omission in German dissertations, should countenance a similar defect in a thesis under their own supervision. The addition of an index would greatly increase the usefulness of a work which, in the nature of the case, must be used mainly for reference.

To the Terentian scholar the most interesting feature of the book is the discussion of the miniatures, though it cannot be claimed that Miss Saunders has settled the moot question as to the age of the archetype. While she is inclined to favor a comparatively late date, she yet appreciates some of the objections that may be brought against the extreme view of Engelhardt, who would connect the

originals of the Terentian illustrations with the Calliopian recension. Even when she reaches the conclusion that either the artist of the archetype "did not thoroughly understand the simplest principles of Greek dress or his illustrations have been copied by persons who were decidedly ignorant of those principles," she is unable to decide whether the fault lies with the original artist or whether "ignorant artists were copying something which they did not understand—namely an *ancient* original." Surely, when we consider the many analogies furnished by the history of ancient art, the latter is the more probable view.

The inevitable *lapsus calami* are happily very few. The book has a dainty garb, and Dr. Saunders may well be congratulated on her interesting and important contribution to the literature of the Roman drama.

H. R. FAIRCLOUGH

LELAND STANFORD JR. UNIVERSITY

Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects. By CARL DARLING BUCK. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1910. Pp. xvi + 320. \$2.75.

The study of the Greek dialects is no new subject. Investigations of one or of several dialects have been made frequently during the past seventy years. But until the appearance of this book no treatment had existed of all the dialects, including the text and grammar and commentary, together with a statement of the relationship of the various forms of speech current among the Greeks.

Since the primary object of the study of the dialects is linguistic, the author has wisely limited his selection of examples to the inscriptions, paying no attention to extant literary remains, which are so readily corrupted or altered by copyists. The constantly increasing number of inscriptions that become known to us through more extended excavations proves that while their chief interest remains linguistic, they are of great importance for a knowledge of the history, laws, customs, and religion of all the different sections of the Greek people. Hence a book of this kind is valuable, both to the teacher who is handling Homer, or the lyric poets, or any other writers of pure or mixed dialects, and to the student of constitutional history, or religion, or the several phases of Greek life and activity.

The book is characterized by the clearness of expression, the reasonableness of arrangement, and the exactness of definition and description which are such notable features of the author's *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*. Its accuracy is assured by the many years spent in preparation.

The Introduction deals with the Grammar of the Dialects. The first division, "Classification and Interrelation of the Dialects," is in part an expansion and in part an abridgment of Professor Buck's article in *Classical Philology*, II, 241 ff., which should be read to accompany this introduction. The section on "The Alphabet" is rather too condensed, with the material somewhat confusing by reason of this condensation. A few charts, or the writing

of the several alphabets side by side, would be welcome in the interest of clearness. The sections on "Phonology" and "Inflection" form the kernel of the book, and to them one must give unstinted praise. The facts are marshaled in the same manner as in the *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, and are stated with such reasonable conservatism, such clearness and fulness, that the student scarcely needs the guidance of an instructor. Following this are "Summaries of Characteristics" of groups and single dialects, where one can see at a glance the chief features of any dialect he may be working on. Next come 113 well-selected inscriptions with brief notes, followed by a bibliography and bibliographical notes. The book ends with a Glossary of words not found, or not fully treated, in Liddell and Scott, with frequent references to the *Grammar*, where further information may be found.

My conclusions as to the value of the book are based upon its use during the past semester with a class whose quickness in mastering the details of the dialects was convincing proof that the book would be of great service to the secondary teacher who wishes an accurate knowledge of the meaning of the Aeolic and Ionic elements in Homer, and to the college teacher in assisting in an interpretation of the documents he needs to employ in his special studies.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

R. W. HUSBAND

Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft. Herausgegeben von ALFRED GERCKE UND EDUARD NORDEN. I. Band: 1, "Methodik," ALFRED GERCKE; 2, "Sprache," PAUL KRETSCHMER; 3, "Antike Metrik," ERNST BICKEL; 4, "Griechische und römische Literatur: Die griechische Poesie," ERICH BETHE; "Die griechische Prosa," PAUL WENDLAND; "Quellen und Materialien, Gesichtspunkte und Probleme zur Erforschung der griechischen Literaturgeschichte," ERICH BETHE UND PAUL WENDLAND; "Die römische Literatur," EDUARD NORDEN; "Die römisch-christliche Literatur," PAUL WENDLAND; "Quellen und Materialien, Gesichtspunkte und Probleme zur Erforschung der römischen Literaturgeschichte," EDUARD NORDEN. Leipzig und Berlin: Teubner, 1910. Pp. xi+588. M.13.

This is the first volume of a three-volume introduction to classical studies. The other volumes are promised for the year 1910, and are to have the following contents: II. Band: 1, "Privataltertümer," E. Pernice; 2, "Kunst," F. Winter; 3, "Religion und Mythologie," J. Wide; 4, "Philosophie," A. Gercke; 5, "Exakte Wissenschaften und Medizin," J. L. Heiberg. III. Band: 1, "Griechische Geschichte," C. F. Lehmann-Haupt; 2, "Hellenistisch-

römische Geschichte," G. Beloch; 3, "Geschichte der Kaiserzeit," E. Kornemann; 4, "Griechische Staatsaltertümer," B. Keil; 5, "Römische Staatsaltertümer," K. J. Neumann; 6, "Epigraphik, Papyrologie, Paläographie," B. Keil.

In this new introduction to classical studies the editors seek first of all to meet the needs of classical students in the universities. They plan a treatment that shall be intermediate between the elementary handbooks or the brief introductions, and the exhaustive volumes of Müller's *Handbuch* and Pauly-Wissowa. They seek also to furnish a handbook of thoroughly scholarly character yet so moderate in cost as to be within the reach of the ordinary classical teacher in the schools.

The work will include a comprehensive survey of the history of classical scholarship in each field, an exposition of the fundamental principles of each department, an orderly view of the numerous subordinate departments in each main division, and a suggestive treatment of the larger questions that are still under discussion or awaiting investigation. At every step there is to be a bibliography which shall serve to introduce the student to those special studies which have been epoch-making in each field, and to the best treatment today available for the discussion of present problems. The authors are for the most part men who have themselves contributed so much in their special fields that they are able to speak with authority, and to furnish a wealth of illuminating illustration from their own studies. In some of the departments the limits of space forbid treatment of details except for the purpose of illustration, but even here the illustrations are so plentiful and so significant, and they so often involve current discussions, that the reader finds after all a surprisingly large amount of detailed information.

The whole plan of giving in the text comprehensive statements of principles and broad results, of relating one department to another, of illustrating all by typical examples in detail, and of guiding the reader at every step to the articles and books that give the more exhaustive treatment, is admirably carried out. The book will be simply indispensable for the desk of every classical teacher. The mechanical work in the volume at hand is worthy of the contents; the ample page, $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ inches, with its large and clear type, is a delight to the eye.

The first section, "Methodik," by Alfred Gercke, serves as a broad survey of the whole subject, under the divisions "Formale Philologie" and "Sachliche Philologie." He traces step by step the close analogy between the processes under each of these disciplines, and their inseparable connection with history as broadly defined.

In the second division, "Sprache," Kretschmer makes no attempt to write a grammar of either Greek or Latin, but he gives a most valuable exposition of the method of linguistic study and the sources used, and a summary sketch of the history of the Greek and Latin languages (assuming for Greece the

following linguistic strata: [1] Nichtindogermanische Urbevölkerung; [2] Ionier; [3] Achäer; [4] Westgriechen). This is followed by a review of the methods of grammatical study in Greek and Latin and a summary of results under the general title, "Die Hauptkapitel der Grammatik," with the subdivisions, Lautlehre, Flexionslehre, Wortforschung, and Syntax. Kretschmer's work as a whole will give to the scholar who has had inadequate training in the new linguistic science precisely the orientation that he needs, and will serve as an admirable guide for the choice of books for further study.

In the brief section on "Antike Metrik" Bickel treats of the dactylic hexameter and of the iambic trimeter with considerable detail, but gives only a brief summary in the case of lyric verse. An appendix on prose rhythm in Greek and Latin is especially timely.

About half of the volume is given to Greek and Roman literature. In the first section of this part we have a brief sketch of the work of the several authors, confined necessarily to the most characteristic features. Brief sections on the preservation and transmission of ancient literature and on manuscripts and editions follow, the latter especially valuable for its bibliography. But the most suggestive chapters are those under the caption "Gesichtspunkte und Probleme"; here every page is significant for its tracing of the progress of literary forms, its exposition of sound principles of literary criticism, and its constant reference to the best and the latest critical discussions.

C. D. A.

First Year Latin: Preparatory to Caesar. By CHARLES E. BENNETT, Professor of Latin in Cornell University. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1909. Pp. x+281.

No one who has used Professor Bennett's *Latin Grammar* or his other excellent textbooks can doubt his ability to supply either school or college with books which shall be both concise and clear, and which shall in every respect meet the requirements made of them at the outset. The purpose of the present book is to prepare students for the work of the second year, which will presumably center around the reading of Caesar. That it will do this, and do it well, is certain.

Whether the subject-matter of the beginner's book should be presented in the order which Professor Bennett prefers, and for which he argues in his half of the book on the *Teaching of Latin and Greek in the Secondary School*, or whether it is better presented on the alternating principle of the majority of our beginners' books is a question which admits of much argument and no conclusive demonstration. The writer prefers the other method, and he is therefore inclined to say that Professor Bennett's book is serviceable not because of its method but in spite of it. But, given a capable teacher, any well-written book in the hands of willing students with a fair mental endowment will prepare for second-year Latin.

The promotion of a legitimate interest in beginners' books, though Professor Bennett is skeptical about this matter of interest, has never seemed to me to involve

any loss of efficiency. And there can be no question that the other type of book will come nearer enlisting the pupil's interest. Those who cannot, however, abandon the recollection of the good old days when grammar was to be learned by heart before reading began will perhaps recall Mr. Dooley's remark, "I don't care much what the children learn, just so it's onplisant," and be thankful that the market is not wholly given over to the "typical beginner's book of today," to quote a phrase of Mr. Bennett's.

The first edition of any book is bound to contain errors. This book, however, has an unusually large number of them, and should be subjected to a thorough revision. Nothing seems gained by citing errors in detail here, and I have accordingly sent my list to Professor Bennett instead.

Since the book professedly prepares for Caesar, the collateral reading chosen exclusively from Caesar can hardly be said to be out of place; but I have always found it much more interesting for the students when a considerable amount of this reading consists of short and easy stories, and I believe them quite as profitable by way of preparation for the second year's work. The biographical note on Julius Caesar on pp. 68 and 69 is good, and the idea an excellent one.

Teachers will probably regret that Professor Bennett has used *j* for consonant *i*. It may be expedient to write *j* in the *Latin Language* (cf. p. 3 of that work), but the letter has been so largely discarded in our printed texts that its use in beginners' books can only result in confusion later. The practice of repeating common verbs several times with different meanings (e.g., *dicō*, 289, "I say," 315, "I appoint," 324, "I utter"), seems to me a fair example of "separating things that logically belong together" and "which must later be associated" (see *The Teaching of Latin and Greek*, p. 54), and it is my opinion that pupils will be confused rather than aided by the separation. I have often wondered why beginners' books do not note the parallel between wishes and conditional sentences: the latter generally prove so difficult for students that any possible comparison with facts previously learned seems likely to be useful. This book will doubtless receive an index in a later edition; it is important that the opportunities for instant review in the beginners' book be made as complete as possible. Among the good features of the book mention should be made of the translation in the paradigms of the forms of the present, imperfect, and pluperfect subjunctive; the pupil readily picks up these meanings, and has a valuable store to draw on when he comes to the treatment of subjunctives later on. The treatment of conditional sentences, also, commends itself for its simplicity, though criticized by a previous reviewer (see the *Classical Weekly*, 3.6, p. 45): there is no particular reason why the pupil should be taught the term "future more vivid" *if he can read the sentence* under another name.

With a careful revision, this book ought to take its place among the few very best beginners' books.

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WORCESTER, MASS.

Introduction to the Natural History of Language. By T. G. TUCKER, Professor of Classical Philology in the University of Melbourne. London: Blackie & Son, 1908. Pp. xii+465. \$3.78 net, imported.

This volume is of interest to classical students for two reasons; in general, because linguistic science is so closely connected in origin and development with the history of classical philology, and in particular, because the author is a well-known classical scholar. We are all familiar with his *Life in Ancient Athens* and his various editions of Greek authors, but it is perhaps not widely known that he is an Australian representative on the Simplified Spelling Board. The English type of scholarship always commands our admiration because of its power of correlating into one united whole so many fields of knowledge which an age of specialization has tended to disconnect and segregate.

The purpose of the author has been to give a general survey of the whole field of linguistic science—glottology, the term preferred by the author (pp. 6, 10), will hardly meet with wide acceptance among the devotees of the science—and, what is far more difficult, to present the results in a readable form. In its scope the work is the most ambitious that has appeared in English for a long time. There are many unnecessary details for a popular book, and it is hard to see why so much space (a fourth of the whole volume) should be given up to a "General Survey of Languages" containing numerous catalogues of tongues which are extremely dull to the general reader while at the same time they are insufficient for the specialist. It may not be "necessary at this date to give a history of linguistic science" (p. vii), but certainly no chapter would have been more fascinating or instructive to the casual reader, and we regard its omission as a serious one.

The contents of the book fall into seventeen chapters, as follows: I, "The Nature and Scope of the Subject"; II, "Phonology"; III, "Speech and Writing"; IV, V, VI, "Classification of Language"; VII, VIII, IX, "General Survey of Languages"; X, "Race and Language"; XI, "Original Seat and Diffusion of the Indo-European"; XII, "Phonetic Change"; XIII, "Phonetic Laws"; XIV, "General Phonetic Tendencies in Language"; XV, "Application of Phonology to Etymologies"; XVI, "Changes of Meaning"; XVII, "The Development of Language."

Material has been brought together from various and conflicting sources with the result that we find occasional inconsistencies, while on every hand corrective or alternative names and expressions are offered the reader to his great annoyance. In some cases where a short time ago a variety of forms might be found for the same name, today usage has fixed upon some particular one and we rebel at any other. Examples to the point are: Aramaean (pp. 56, 67), but the usual Aramaic elsewhere; Sumerian (p. 55), but Shumerian (p. 152); Gothic or Gotic (p. 213); Wiking (p. 214); Erania and Eranian constantly with two exceptions, etc.

In spite of the many misprints and occasional errors, especially in connection with Sanskrit, the work is perhaps the best in English for orientation. The chapter on "Phonology" gives an excellent sketch for a beginner in phonetics. Finally, the exposition of Grimm's Law is the clearest we have met with in any handbook.

G. C. SCOGGIN

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

Six Essays on the Platonic Theory of Knowledge as Expounded in the Later Dialogues and Reviewed by Aristotle. By MARIE V. WILLIAMS, Newman College. Cambridge: University Press; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908. Pp. viii + 133.

The author sees in the supposed later works of Plato a fuller development and elaboration of the ideal scheme which was at first vaguely sketched. She assumes that the *Parmenides*, *Theatetus*, *Sophist*, *Politicus*, *Philebus*, and *Timaeus* are later than the *Republic* and *Phaedo*. These essays are the outcome of an attempt of the author to satisfy herself, by independent investigation, as to the doctrines that the later dialogues seem to teach. They are quite readable, and the views are clearly stated and are very creditable as an independent piece of study, though the author freely admits her indebtedness to other Cambridge scholars.

C. F. CASTLE

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Silvae of Statius. Translated with Introduction and Notes by D. A. SLATER. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908. Pp. 214.

The study of Statius' *Silvae* has made substantial advances in the last twelve years. In 1898 Vollmer published his commentary; in 1900 Klotz' critical edition appeared in the Teubner series; in 1904 Phillimore's edition in the "Bibliotheca Oxoniensis"; and in 1905 the edition of Davies and Postgate in the second volume of the "Corpus Poetarum Latinarum."

Slater has done his work well. The introductory essay is interesting and suggestive, and the translation maintains a high standard of excellence. Some scholars will dissent from the readings adopted in numerous passages of the text, and a still larger number will doubt the correctness of the translation in many verses; but this is inevitable in any translation of the *Silvae*. Not only does the text present problems of unusual difficulty, but the poet's meaning, even where the text is not open to suspicion, is frequently so obscure that the right translation is a matter of uncertainty.

In his Introduction the translator has done a real service to Statius criticism in pointing out the unfairness of Nisard's critique (*Études sur les poètes latins de la décadence*) and in commenting on the haphazard character of Tyrrell's estimate (*Latin Poetry*, pp. 283 f.). On the other hand, the eulogy of Politian that "for epic power, for variety of theme, for skill, for knowledge of places and legends, history and custom, for command of recondite learning and the

arcana of letters there is nothing superior to the *Silvae* in all Latin literature" has even less basis of fact than the comprehensive censure of the more recent critics. The same is true of the estimate made by Niebuhr: "The *Silvae* are genuine poetry, imprinted with the true character of the country and constituting some of the most graceful productions of Roman literature." Slater does not definitely state his approval of the views expressed in these quotations, but if we may judge from his words on p. 38: "Fortunately we are not called upon to 'class' the poet. If we were, and ranked him high, Dante, Politian, Niebuhr are great names behind which to shelter," he is inclined to think more favorably of him than are most critics. It is doubtless true that Statius has given us some exquisite lines, that the poem on "Sleep" is of rare excellence, and that he had unusual skill in the composition of hexameters; but if he has occasionally risen to great heights he has more frequently fallen to great depths, and, judged as a whole, he cannot seriously be considered as a poet of the first rank.

Some points of divergence from the author's views may be given. In the Introduction (p. 11) too much stress is laid upon the neighborhood of Virgil's tomb as a formative influence on Statius' development. On p. 13, in the discussion of the belief found in Dante's *Purgatorio* that Statius was a convert to Christianity, the suggestion that St. Paul and Statius may have met at Virgil's tomb involves a combination of flimsy legends that is as hazardous and wild as it is unlike the general tone of the rest of the volume. On p. 16 the reference in *Caesare* (Juvenal viii) must be either to Trajan or to Hadrian. It cannot be to Domitian. On p. 42 the harshness of the phrase *mixta notis* seems exaggerated. *Mixta* has good MSS support and, as Vollmer shows, gives a satisfactory meaning. The translator's conjecture *maesta notis* is unnecessary and his translation of it "clouded with the scars of war" is still less felicitous. On p. 77 he follows Hausman in reading *Hyblaeis vox mulsa favis*, translating "the speaking voice, sweet as honey comb from Hybla." The passage has puzzled many critics. Markland read *tincta favis*, and Saenger in his recent monograph (*P. Papini Stati Silvae, Varietatem lectionis*, etc., St. Petersburg, 1909) adopts *mersa*. *Mixta*, however, the reading of the best MSS, is distinctly in Statius' style and is rightly retained by Klotz and by Vollmer. On p. 78 *Catasta* is not a "cage" but a revolving platform upon which slaves for sale were exhibited. On p. 96 the suggestions given in the footnote are unnecessary; *cornu* is correctly translated in the text as "beak." The *Thesaurus* cites another example of this meaning: Laet. *Phoen.* 136. Page 176: pine trees do not have "leaves."

The diction of the translation is for the most part well chosen and effective. I am, however, inclined to doubt the appropriateness of archaic words in a translation of the *Silvae*: e.g., "proverbed" (p. 54), "shamefast" (p. 56), "stithy" (p. 69), "foison" (p. 121), "bespeak" in the sense of address (p. 187). Only in a few passages does the translator make distinct lapses from his high standard of style. On p. 93, for example, we find "She (i.e., Diana) came hot-foot thither" as a translation of *ecce citatos advertit Diana gradus* (cf. also

p. 152); p. 116, the propempticon to Maecius Celer is entitled a "Send off"; p. 163, "deeper thirst" is somewhat too suggestive of a bar or a beer-garden; p. 106, "Roman liveried lay," while correct enough as a rendering of *carmen logatum*, seems excessively anatomical, at least in sound. G. J. LAING

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Aus der Werdezeit des Christentums, by J. GEFFCKEN (2d ed., 1909); *Die Blütezeit der griechischen Kunst im Spiegel der Relief-sarkophage*, by H. WACHTLER (1910); *Die Sprachstämme des Erdkreises* (1909), and *Die Haupttypen des Sprachbaus*, by F. N. FINCK (1910). Recent issues in the "Aus Natur und Geisteswelt" Series. Leipzig: Teubner, 1909-10.

The range of subjects in this great series of small volumes is as wide as that of an *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. It essays to put all learning into a summarized form, strictly scientific in character, and yet so phrased as to be readily comprehended by the person of ordinary education. The volumes are of uniform appearance, moderate size (about 150 pp., 16 mo.), uniform price (M. 1.25, bound), and the design is to have each of them written by a well-known scholar in the special field concerned. The series has already reached an enumeration of some 175 numbers, and in general may confidently be recommended to students. In the recent issues before us Professor Geffcken discusses not so fully the external history of Christianity in its contact with the Greek world of theory and the Roman world of government, as its internal elements and tendencies, and the influence upon these of sundry philosophical and theological schools of thought.

Professor Wachtler illustrates his description of Greek sculpture in its glorious days by examples chiefly in a single and less popularly known field, that of the relief, treating at fuller length the finer examples of sarcophagi (the satrap-sarcophagus, the Lycian, that of the mourning women, the Alexander-sarcophagus, and finally the Amazon-sarcophagus at Vienna). Professor Finck, in his two volumes, essays the harder task of summarizing for the ordinarily intelligent reader the present, if not the final, results attained by the investigators of language concerning the classification and general characteristics of the world's great medley of tongues. A somewhat appalling, if also enlightening, idea of the number of these differentiated languages and dialects may be gained by consulting the index of his *Sprachstämme*, which contains, by a rough calculation, over 2,200 names. For a most excellent summary of the characteristics of the different types of speech the reader must turn to the *Haupttypen*, where as examples the Chinese, Greenland, Ssubija (on the upper Zambesi), Samoan, Arabic, Greek (modern vernacular), and Georgian languages are described, with careful analytic specimens of their connected speech. This is the volume of all the four thus briefly mentioned that is likely to hold the reader longest.

E. T. M.

New Literature

The following new books and monographs have been received, and will be more fully noticed as our space permits.

ASHMORE: The Comedies of Terence; Oxford University Press, American Branch.

BAIKIE: The Sea-Kings of Crete; London, Adam & Charles Black.

HEITLAND: The Roman Republic; Cambridge University Press.

HUTCHINSON: M. Tullii Ciceronis De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum; London, Edward Arnold.

GARDNER: Six Greek Sculptors; Scribner.

CAPPS: Four Plays of Menander; Ginn & Co.

JONES: The Poetic Plural of Greek Tragedy in the Light of Homeric Usage; Cornell Studies in Classical Philology.

TEUFFEL: Römische Literatur II; Teubner.

BLASS: Demosthenes ausgewählte Reden; Teubner.

SAGE: The Pseudo-Ciceronian "Consolatio"; The University of Chicago Press.

TOLMAN: A Study of the Sepulchral Inscriptions in Buecheler's "Carmina Epigraphica Latina"; The University of Chicago Press.

EDMONDS: The New Fragments of Alcaeus, Sappho, and Corinna, the text edited with critical notes; Cambridge, Deighton Bell & Co.

COSENZA: Petrarch's Letters to Classical Authors, translated, with a commentary; The University of Chicago Press.

TUCKER: Life in the Roman World of Nero and St. Paul; Macmillan.

CUMMINGS: The "Iliad" of Homer Translated; Little, Brown & Co.

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The Classical Journal

PUBLISHED BY THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH
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Volume VI

DECEMBER, 1910

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VOLUME VI

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Editorial

THE AMERIKA-INSTITUT

Those of us who have traveled abroad, and especially those who have attempted study or research in foreign countries, will remember the vexing delays, difficulties, and set-backs of every sort incident to that attempt. These difficulties are caused in part by an imperfect knowledge of the language, and in part by an ignorance of the customs and institutions of the country. The student has looked in vain for some friendly general bureau of information and aid which would meet his particular needs and put him in the way of his work pleasantly and quickly; and as a consequence much valuable time is often lost in "learning the ropes" and getting settled finally to one's task.

So far as Germany is concerned, these difficulties seem to have been fairly removed by the establishment of the *Amerika-Institut* by the German government, as announced by Mr. Hugo Münsterberg, who has been appointed first director of the *Institut*. It will be seen that not only the smaller, more individual needs of scholars, as described above, are met, but also the need for closer relations and a better understanding between the institutions of the two nations is recognized.

In order that the organization and purpose of the *Institut* may be more fully understood we quote from the director's announcement:

I beg to bring to your notice the formal opening of the *Amerika-Institut* in the Royal Library Building at Berlin. The *Institut* is a foundation of the German government. The staff comprises scientific workers, librarians, translators, American and German secretaries, and so on; its organization has been intrusted to me. I am to be in honorary capacity the director of the *Institut* during its first year, while I am staying as Harvard exchange professor at the University of Berlin.

The general aim of the *Institut* is the systematic furthering of the cultural relations between Germany and the United States. Strictly political and commercial affairs lie outside of its realm, but every-

thing which refers to education and scholarship, to literature and art, to technique and social welfare, to travel and public interests, to peace and international understanding, will be the fit object of its efforts. While the political relations of the countries have always been organized, the cultural connections have been the results of chance influences which have brought about a wasteful scattering of energies and often a disappointing and even harmful outcome. The *Institut* is the first effort to organize and to forward these mutual interests of two great nations. We hope it may lead to the founding of similar governmental institutions for cultural relations with foreign countries among all the leading nations of the world.

In confining our work to Germany and America, we are trying to aid Americans who seek contact with German institutions and scholars, libraries and archives, laboratories and museums, hospitals and academies, industrial establishments and municipal works, and in a corresponding way Germans who need connections with American institutions or personalities. We try to further international congresses and researches, exhibitions and expeditions, statistical inquiries and historical investigations. We are engaged in increasing the circulation of American books in Germany and of German books in America. The whole exchange between the Smithsonian Institute in Washington and its correspondents in Germany, the transmission of official documents, and the arrangements for copyrights will be undertaken by our *Institut*, which will also have its own extensive American library. We shall systematically encourage the translation of American books into German and of German books into English. An important part of our function will be the informing of institutions: for instance, in the interest of the American students we shall advise the German universities concerning the relative value of the degrees of the six hundred American colleges. In short, we shall devote our services to everything which removes possible misunderstandings and promotes the cultural friendship, which indirectly may also work toward harmonious political and commercial relations.

CURRENT EVENTS

We announced in the October number of the *Journal* the establishment of "Current Events" as an independent department, the same to present everything that is properly news, such as occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. While such news is not of paramount importance when compared with other features of the *Journal*, it certainly is of great interest and value, and this department is therefore well worth the support of all our readers.

By reference to p. 136 of the present number, the reader will see the name and address of the associate editor who is responsible for the news from his section, and is urged to send in to this officer without solicitation memoranda or accounts of whatever he may deem worthy of mention in his institution or locality.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN 1909. PART II

BY GEORGE H. CHASE
Harvard University

At Pagasae, Dr. Arvanitopoulos further explored the temple which was mentioned in last year's report. It is situated on the acropolis, and although nothing but the foundations remain *in situ*, many fragments of the superstructure were scattered about. The material is Pentelic marble, and the workmanship is said to be remarkably fine, comparable, according to the discoverer, with that of the Erechtheum. The date of the building is probably the fourth century. From the ruins of some Turkish houses a number of new fragments of painted stelae, for the most part badly injured, were recovered. The most important is the lower part of the stele which I described in last year's report. The paint has almost disappeared, but the fragment has preserved the inscription, which runs as follows:

Λυπρὸν ἐφ' Ἠδίστῃ Μοῖραι τότε νῆμ(α) ἀπ' ἀτράκτων
κλῶσαν, ὅτ(ε) ὠδίνος νύμφη ἀπηντίασεν·
σχετλίη, οὐ γὰρ ἔμελλε τὸ νήπιον ἀγκαλιέσθαι,
μαστῶ τ(ε) ἀρδενύσειν χεῖλος ἐοῖο βρέφους·
ἐν γὰρ ἐσεῖδε φάος καὶ ἀπήγαγεν εἰς ἓνα τύμβον
τοὺς δισσοῦς, ἀκρίτως τοῖσδε μολοῦσα, Τύχη.

From the forms of the letters it is argued that the stele is to be dated between 250 and 217 B.C., approximately the date to which Dr. Arvanitopoulos assigned it on stylistic grounds.

Finally, near Carditza in Thessaly, a rich tomb of the first century B.C. was discovered, containing a number of silver vases with applied designs as well as an abundance of gold ornaments and copper utensils.

Passing to the Peloponnesus, we may notice first the work of the American School at Corinth. Here the campaign of 1909 was devoted especially to clearing up a number of problems connected with the water supply for the fountain Pirene in its earliest form, dating from the sixth century B.C. The four great underground

reservoirs, each 20 to 25 meters long, 2 meters wide, and 2.50 meters high, and the tunnel by which they were supplied were thoroughly examined. The cement lining of the reservoirs was found in almost perfect condition, and it is stated that with a very little further excavation one reservoir at least could be shown delivering water into the draw-basins in the ancient fashion. One curious detail is an arrangement for setting lamps at regular intervals along the tunnel, evidently for purposes of inspection. In the Odeum, which dates from the second century and owes its existence to Herodes Atticus, several trenches were sunk and a number of well-preserved, rock-cut seats in the lower level of the *cavea* were uncovered. In the theater further excavation showed that the Greek stage was much lower than is common in Hellenistic theaters. The building in its Greek form is at least as early as 300 B.C. and possibly considerably earlier. Further excavation may show that it is to be dated well back into the fourth century, in which case it would gain a new interest from its bearing on the stage question. Between the Odeum and the theater traces of a sanctuary were discovered, which may turn out to be the much sought sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis, but the excavation at this point is as yet merely tentative and the identification cannot be regarded as certain.

In the Argolid, the Germans resumed work at Tiryns in the spring of 1909, examining especially the southern end of the citadel. Numerous foundation walls belonging to the period of the palace were cleared and below them many relics of the older settlement. The earliest wall of defense runs approximately under the center of the Byzantine church. Outside this wall were found traces of the pre-Mycenaean settlement with characteristic black-luster pottery, and underneath the room marked XXX on Schliemann's plan (*Tiryns*, pl. II), a magazine with six large *pithei*. The southern wall of this magazine is curved and recalls the curved house walls recently found in the lower levels at Olympia. Careful cleaning of the plastered floors in the two megara of the palace revealed the fact that they were originally painted; in the great megaron and its forehall not only ornamental patterns but also octopi and dolphins on a blue background appeared. Trial trenches outside the citadel

struck many traces of the lower town, those on the south being early Mycenaean and those on the north late Mycenaean. No traces of houses of post-Mycenaean times were found, but graves of the geometric period appeared everywhere. In these, contrary to the usual custom in geometric burials, where cremation is the rule, the bodies were contracted and placed in stone coffins or in *pitthoi*.

At Sparta the English excavators cleared various outlying parts of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, and by removing parts of the cobble pavement of the arena examined the lowest levels. In these were found ashes and fragments of geometric pottery, proving that the worship of Orthia on this site was older than any of the existing buildings. The excavation here is now regarded as finished. More important in some ways were the results of operations at another site, the building known as the Menelaion, situated on a hill on the east bank of the Eurotas a little below the site of Sparta itself. The remains here were partially cleared by Ross in 1833-34; in 1889, some further work was done by the Greek government; and the identification of the ruins as the temple of Menelaus at Therapnae, where Menelaus and Helen were believed to be buried (cf. Pausanias 3, 19, 9), has usually been accepted. The attention of the English excavators was again attracted to the place by the chance discovery by a shepherd of various small objects on the slope below the building. Excavation brought to light a quantity of pottery and bronze ornaments belonging for the most part to the period which the English call Laconian II (latter part of the seventh century) and which is only scantily represented at the sanctuary of Orthia. Below these, fragments with geometric ornamentation appeared. The building itself consists of a large platform approached by a ramp, and on the platform remains of what may have been an altar. As yet no trace of a tomb has been discovered. Some Mycenaean pottery was found here, and in the neighboring fields remains of a Mycenaean house with painted walls. These finds tend to confirm the theory, which had already been advanced on the basis of Mycenaean potsherds previously discovered, that the hill marks the site of the prehistoric town of Sparta, and that the classical city, within the limits of which no Mycenaean remains have been discovered,

was not founded until the beginning of the iron age. It is announced that the excavations will be continued on this site.

At Olympia, further investigation of the lowest levels showed that the prehistoric settlement extended under the Metroön and also under the terrace of the Treasuries, which is thus proved to be an artificial construction. More houses with apses were discovered, and it is now stated that what has commonly been identified as the altar of Zeus is really only a pair of such structures. The smaller finds included numerous stone implements and plain and incised pottery, but no metal except where the stratification was uncertain. A layer of sand which covers the ruins of the early settlement appears to be due to the later leveling up of the site, not to natural causes.

In Rome, the most striking discoveries of the year were made in the course of excavations on the Janiculum, which were begun in 1908 and which ought to have been mentioned earlier in these reports. Near the southern end of the hill is situated the Villa Sciarra, now owned by Mr. George Wurts. Here, in July 1906, in a narrow valley which runs down toward the Tiber, workmen engaged in digging trenches for foundation walls discovered a number of blocks and fragments of marble, several of them with complete or fragmentary inscriptions. There were three altars, one dedicated to Zeus Keraunios and the Numphae Furrinae, one to Adadus, and one to Jupiter Maleciabrudes. A curious block with a hole in the center bears an inscription which records that the monument of which it formed a part (very probably a fountain) was set up by a certain Gaionas. From these facts several inferences were drawn by M. Gauckler, who published the first detailed account of the inscriptions. In the first place it is clear that in this valley was located the Lucus Furrinae, famous as the spot where Gaius Gracchus met his death in 121 B.C. From the configuration of the valley and from some traces of conduits, M. Gauckler maintained that a spring must exist in the valley, originally, no doubt, intimately associated with the worship of the goddess and her sacred grove. Secondly, M. Gauckler pointed out, the names Adadus and Jupiter Maleciabrudes (and probably also the *BELO* which occurs on an architectural fragment) point to the fact that

in the Imperial period a sanctuary of Syrian gods was built in the valley. The date, he argued, was the latter part of the second century A.D., since Gaionas is known from several other inscriptions, one of which is dated exactly, November 29, 186 A.D.; and he concluded his discussion with an imaginary picture of the sanctuary, which, he insisted, must be preserved under the accumulation of earth in the valley, only awaiting the spade of the excavator.

Shortly after the appearance of Gauckler's articles, Professor Hülsen published a discussion of the evidence. He differed from the French scholar in many details and was especially severe in criticism of his arguments for the existence of the sacred spring and his picture of the sanctuary of the Syrian gods. Here clearly was a problem which only the spade could decide, and fortunately means were soon found to put the conflicting theories to the test. In April, 1908, a thorough examination of the site was begun, which ended in a complete vindication of the opinions advanced by M. Gauckler. An underground spring with ancient conduits leading from it was very quickly discovered, and just outside the boundaries of the Villa Wurts, close to the spot where the inscribed blocks came to light in 1906, the sanctuary of the Syrian gods (or perhaps only a part of the sanctuary) was found. What has so far been recovered consists of a large court with high walls, which apparently was open to the sky, bounded at one end by a chapel and at the other by an octagonal structure which may have served as a sort of baptistry. The chapel consists of a large central room, with an apse at the far end and a long, narrow room at each side; it is entered through a narthex or vestibule which extends entirely across the front of the building and has a small room set off at each end. The whole arrangement recalls in many ways the plan of a Christian basilica. In the center of the main room was a triangular altar, and at the back of the apse a niche for a statue, probably the figure of a seated god which was found in the apse. It seems probable that this is some form of the Syrian Baal represented as Jupiter, but as the head and both arms are gone the identification cannot be certain. A secret compartment in this niche contained the upper part of a human skull. But the most surprising discoveries were made in the octagonal "baptistry" and the adjoining

apartments. In one of the small rooms through which the octagon was entered from the court was found a badly mutilated candelabrum base of marble, decorated with figures of dancing girls; and carefully buried beneath the floor, where it had evidently been placed for safekeeping, was a marble statue of Bacchus with gilded hands and face. In another apartment was a broken and mutilated basalt statue of an Egyptian pharaoh. Strangest of all, inside a triangular font which occupied the center of the octagon was discovered a small statue of a goddess of gilded bronze, lying on its back. Except for the head, the figure presents the appearance of a mummy, and about it, in seven coils, is twined a serpent, which rises to the top of the figure so that its head appears above the forehead of the goddess. On the figure, when it was deposited in the font, seven eggs were placed, and the broken shells of these lay all about it when it was discovered. That this is some foreign divinity seems certain, but the interpretation is difficult; the most probable suggestion yet made is that it represents the birth of the Syrian goddess Atargatis, the Fortuna Primigenia of the Romans.

As to the date of the sanctuary, several bits of evidence point to the fourth century A.D. But that the worship of the Syrian gods was established in the *Lucus Furrinae* as early as the second century A.D. is proved by the discovery of traces of two earlier structures below the level of the present sanctuary. One of these is very surely the sanctuary of the time of Gaionas; a block inscribed with his name and datable to November or December, 176 A.D., was taken from the earlier temple and used as a threshold in the later building. The earliest ruins of all may be dated in the first century A.D., but it is not entirely certain that they come from a sanctuary. It is certainly to be hoped that means will be found to continue these excavations. Incomplete as they are, they illustrate very strikingly the strange forms of oriental worship that are so constantly referred to by the writers of the Empire. The high walls by which the sanctuary was enclosed show the secrecy with which the rites were guarded; the curious image of the goddess with her serpent suggests the element of mystery in the cult; and the carefully buried statue of Bacchus gives evidence of the persecution which her votaries suffered in the later days of paganism.

From other parts of Rome there is not much to record. In the Forum, the excavation of the Basilica Aemilia was carried somewhat farther, and twelve new tombs belonging to the early Sepulcretum were examined. One of these, a *tomba a pozzo* containing a dolium with a hut-urn and the usual funeral furniture, is said to be the best preserved tomb that has yet been discovered in the Forum. An ancient well which was discovered under the church of S. Cesareo on the Summa Sacra Via is to be further investigated. It is thought to date from the Republican period. Considerable parts of the recent excavations in the Forum have been covered up again to preserve the ruins—a justifiable proceeding and, from an aesthetic point of view, a laudable one, though it is unfortunate that in some instances ruins have been concealed for which the official reports have not appeared, so that it will be difficult, if not impossible, to verify the excavators' statements. A general account of the latest excavations has recently been published by Professor Hülsen (*Die neuesten Ausgrabungen auf dem Forum Romanum: Nachtrag zu Das Forum Romanum*, Rome, Loescher, 1910).

The beginning of work on the *Zona Monumentale*, which was mentioned in last year's report, has not been auspicious. In their eagerness to produce results, the commission began by laying out a broad avenue from the Palatine to the Baths of Caracalla. They cut down trees and tore down buildings and began to level up and down, showing little interest in the ruins which their cuttings brought to light or in the buildings which were removed, to such an extent that a writer in *Marsocco* characterized their action as "the greatest crime since Alaric." Almost the only result of importance that their work has so far yielded is the discovery of the ruins of the Porta Capena, just where it has recently been placed by writers on the topography of ancient Rome. Commendatore Boni, who represented the Ministry of Public Instruction on the commission and who had hoped that the work would afford opportunities for thorough exploration, resigned in disgust and was replaced by Professor Lanciani. Whether he can succeed in rousing the other members of the commission to a realization of their opportunities remains to be seen.

On the Quirinal, on the site formerly occupied by the Villa

Spithöver, a new fragment of a very early wall of defense was discovered and completely cleared. It is built of a soft, grey-green tufa, and seems surely earlier than the so-called wall of Servius. It was preserved to a height of nine courses and for a length of 36 meters, but some nine meters were destroyed to make way for a new street, a concession to the needs of the new Rome which caused considerable discussion.

The most heated discussions, however, which were held in Rome in 1909 centered about the "Fanciulla d'Anzio." Now that the first wave of enthusiasm over the acquisition of the statue has passed, a somewhat saner view of its merits is possible. It has been pointed out, for instance, that the head and the body are made of different materials and probably by different artists, as is the case with the Demeter of Cnidus. Nevertheless, there seems to be a growing consensus of opinion that the statue is a Greek work of the latter part of the fourth century or the early part of the third. As to the identification of the figure, theories multiply with amazing rapidity. The "maid" has been called a poetess, a priestess of Apollo, a Sibyl, a Muse, a temple slave, Cassandra, Praxilla, and doubtless other names. Most startling of all is the theory advanced by Mrs. Strong, the newly appointed assistant director of the British School in Rome, who argues that the "maid" is not a woman at all, but a *gallus* or priest of Cybele. Time, perhaps, may bring about some agreement, but at present the critics seem hopelessly at variance. Meanwhile the discussion keeps the statue prominently before the public and makes it for the time being the most popular work in Rome.

At Ostia, where Professor Vaglieri is excavating for the government, the most conspicuous find of the year was a shrine of an oriental divinity, showing the typical paved central area with a raised bench for worshipers on either side. The arrangement is one that is familiar for shrines of Mithra, but an inscription mentions Jupiter Sabazius, so that it is probable that the shrine was dedicated to this god, the Phrygian Sabazis. A plan of the recent excavations, published in the *Notizie degli Scavi* (1909, pp. 411 ff.) makes clear the relations of the different sections of the city mentioned in Professor Vaglieri's earlier reports.

In the region north of Rome, as usual, many pre-Roman tombs were examined, especially at Terni, at Pavia, at Este, near Padua, and at Belmonte and Fermo in Picenum. One of these, at Belmonte, contained remains of no less than five bronze *bigae*, one richly ornamented, of a cuirass of leather covered with bronze plates, four helmets, a pair of greaves, nine lances, and several short swords with traces of their wooden sheaths. All these were apparently the possessions of a single chief; at least, there are traces of only one skeleton. Professor Dellosso, the discoverer, dates the tomb in the seventh century B.C.

At Pompeii, the great find of the year was a fine villa, discovered on private land less than six hundred feet from the point where the government excavators were working. It is described as a country residence distinct in type from the ordinary Pompeian house. Several elaborately decorated rooms were cleared, including a large *triclinium* with well-preserved and well-executed paintings, but the excavation was finally stopped by the authorities.

Farther south, on the site of Locri Epizephyrii, the government excavations begun in 1908 under the direction of Professor Orsi were continued. The shrine of Demeter and Persephone, which yielded a rich collection of terra-cotta plaques and vases in 1908, was further examined, and the collection of plaques was considerably increased; a small sanctuary of Athena, identified by terra-cottas, was located; a deposit of architectural terra-cottas from the fifth-century temple was found; native tombs of the ninth and eighth centuries (Orsi's Siculan III type) were explored; and thirty-four tombs in a Greek graveyard belonging to the archaic and Hellenistic periods were opened. A popular account of the campaign of 1908, published in the *Bolletino d'Arte* (1909, pp. 406-24 and 463-82) shows the importance of this excavation. It is interesting to note, in connection with the work at Locri, that a request for permission to excavate this site, which was submitted by Professor Von Duhn before the campaign of 1908, was not granted by the Italian authorities—a new proof that changed laws do not necessarily mean changed conditions.

ROME'S HEROIC PAST IN THE POEMS OF CLAUDIAN¹

BY CLIFFORD H. MOORE
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Virgil nowhere else makes so strong an appeal to patriotism as when he summons up Rome's great past and marshals in his lines the heroes of Roman tradition. Already in the Augustan Age the imaginations of men were deeply stirred by Rome's long history and by the extent of her empire. To the supporters of Augustus a new order had arisen, which in their hopes was to renew the glory of the past. It is not without interest to turn to a period more than four centuries later and to consider the attitude of Romans toward their empire and their past at a moment just before that empire began finally to fall apart under the attacks of the northern invaders.

When in 401 A.D. Alaric first invaded Italy, according to tradition he was impelled by a clear oracle:

Rumpe omnes, Alarice, moras; hoc impiger anno
Alpibus Italiae ruptis penetrabis ad urbem.²

There is abundant evidence that the mere possibility of Rome's capture filled every Roman mind with horror; and we need not doubt that the court poet of the day was justified in representing some of Alaric's barbarian followers as shrinking from the advance on the city as an act of sacrilege. To barbarian as well as citizen Rome stood for law, letters, and culture, for all that made up the highest civilization with which she had encompassed the world. So, even after her capture, Rutilius Namatianus celebrated the city, as he left for Gaul:

Quantum vitalis natura tetendit in axes,
Tantum virtuti pervia terra tuae.
Fecisti patriam diversis gentibus unam:
Profuit invitis te dominante capi.

¹ Read before the Classical Association of New England at Hartford, Conn., April 2, 1910.

² *De bello Gothico* 546 f.

Dumque offers victis proprii consortia iuris,
Urbem fecisti, quod prius orbis erat.

Porrige victuras Romana in saecula leges
Solaque fatales non vereare colos.¹

Rome had indeed long been the sacred city hallowed by her great past of more than eleven centuries. Today we cannot appreciate what that extent of national history means. The Revolutionary War has for us the dignity of age after a bare century and a third; the Pilgrim Fathers have been ennobled by an antiquity of less than three hundred years. It is evident then that we have no real measure for the antiquity of Rome when viewed from the death of Theodosius in 395 A.D.; the traditional beginnings of that city were farther away from the young emperor Honorius than the coronation of Charles the Great is from us. It is not surprising therefore that in spite of all its vicissitudes Rome exercised a mighty spell on men, seemed indeed to be the very palladium on which the safety of the empire depended. In 410, when after a lapse of eight hundred years Rome was again captured by an invader, both pagans and Christians felt that the disaster was nothing less than a divine punishment. The pagan party saw in the city's fall the terrible result of abandoning the ancient religion; it was to combat this charge that Augustine wrote his *City of God* and Orosius composed his history. It is true that Rome had long ceased to be the heart of the empire; a new Rome on the Bosphorus had divided her honor. Long before under Augustus the power of her legislative assemblies had been lost; the senate's competence had steadily declined until under Diocletian that body became nothing more than a municipal council; and the reduction of the magisterial power had kept pace with the weakening of the senate. From the time of Constantine Rome had seldom had the glory of furnishing the imperial home: indeed Honorius' triumphal visit in 403 gave her almost her only opportunity of seeing a resident emperor for a hundred years. Yet in spite of all this, senatorial rank was still the badge of nobility; and the consulship, misused as it was at times, remained the supreme honor. All pagan and many Christian writers show a reverence and awe for

¹ *De reditu suo* I, 61-66, 133-34.

the ancient capital; they gloried in her noble past, and praised her even in her present state. To Ausonius she was

Prima urbes inter, divum domus, aurea Roma.

Of all the writers of this time none shows a greater appreciation of Rome's history than Claudian. Although an Hellenic Alexandrian who turned to composition in Latin somewhat late, he has expressed the feeling of his age more adequately than any other. He often offends us by his extravagant flattery and by his attempts to give nobility through his polished verse to trifling and petty subjects; but when he deals with the grandeur of Rome he shows the true insight of the poet, is sincere and noble. Like Rutilius he understood the service which that city had been to the nations. So in his earliest panegyric, when Rome, appareled like Minerva, appears to the general Probus to beg the gift of his sons for the consulship, he makes Probus address her:

"O numen amicum,"

Dux ait, "et legum genetrix longaeque regendo
Circumfusa polo consors ac dicta Tonantis,
Dic agendum, quae causa viae? cur deseris arces
Ausonias caelumque tuum? dic, maxima rerum!"¹

Again in a lofty passage he recites Rome's glories: beginning with her splendid buildings and situation on the seven hills, he passes on to celebrate her accomplishments. Here also he names her mother of arms and of laws to all peoples:

Armorum legumque parens quae fundit in omnes
Imperium primique dedit cunabula iuris.²

He recounts how from small beginnings she has extended her power to the two poles and made her empire as wide as the course of the sun. She has faced many foes and conquered all: no reverses have ever made her yield; neither Cannae nor Trebia daunted her; she has ever advanced her dominion. Moreover she alone among victors has treated the conquered peoples like a mother and made them peaceful members of one nation:

Haec est in gremium victos quae sola recepit
Humanumque genus communi nomine fovit

¹ *Panegy. dictus Probino et Olybrio coss.* 126-30.

² *De Consul. Stilichonis* 3, 136-37.

Matris, non dominae ritu, civesque vocavit
Quos domuit nexuque pio longinqua revinxit.
Huius pacificis debemus moribus omnes,
Quod veluti patriis regionibus utitur hospes.¹

The passage closes with an assurance of the permanence of the empire which recalls the confidence shown by the Augustan poets.

Nec terminus umquam
Romanae dictionis erit.²

Yet with all his proud expression of belief that Rome is eternal, the poet does not conceal his sense of her dangers. In his poem on the war with Gildo, when Italy was threatened with famine, he represents the city, weak and worn, appealing to Jove for assistance; she dwells on her great and victorious past; in her distress she longs for her earlier condition:

Felicior essem
Angustis opibus; mallet tolerare Sabinos
Et Veios; brevior duxi securius aevum.
Ipsa nocet moles. Vtinam remeare liceret
Ad veteres fines et moenia pauperis Anci.
Sufficerent Etrusca mihi Campanaque culta
Et Quincti Curique seges, patriaeque petenti
Rusticus inferret proprias dictator aristas.
Nunc quid agam? Libyam Gildo tenet, altera Nilum.
Ast ego, quae terras umeris pontumque subegi,
Deseror: emeritae iam praemia nulla senectae.
Di, quibus iratis crevi, succurrite tandem
Exorate patrem; tuque o si sponte per altum
Vecta Palatinis mutasti collibus Idam
Praelatoque lavas Phrygios Almone leones,
Maternis precibus natum iam flecte, Cybebe.
Sin prohibent Parcae falsisque elusa vetustas
Auspiciis, alio saltem prosternite casu
Et poenae mutatae genus. Porsenna reducat
Tarquinius; renovet ferales Allia pugnās;
Me potius saevi manibus permittite Pyrrhi,
Me Senonum furiis, Brenni me reddite flammis.
Cuncta fame leviora mihi.³

But Claudian most often expresses his sense of Rome's great past by summoning into his pages the heroes of tradition whose

¹ *De consul. Stilichonis* 3, 150-55.

² *Ibid.* 159f.

³ *De bello Gild.* 1, 105-27..

names had for centuries stirred the Roman's pride. Not only the kings, warlike Quirinus and kindly Numa, but Brutus, Camillus, Serranus, the Decii, Curii, Metelli, Scipios and Catos, Cocles, Fabricius, Fabius, Marcellus, Aemilius Paullus, Marius, and Pompey, have their places. It was not in vain that our poet had studied his exempla and dwelt on those splendid lines in the sixth book of the Aeneid, where the shade of Anchises reviews for Aeneas the Roman heroes who are to be. These names furnish Claudian models for comparison and exhortation. At times in his desire to please he falls into low flattery, as when in his panegyric on the consuls of the year 395 he declares:

His ego nec Decios pulchros fortesve Metellos
Praetulerim, non, qui Poenum domuere ferocem,
Scipiadas Gallisque genus fatale Camillos.¹

It is, however, for his great hero Stilicho that he most often seeks a comparison. In the poem on Stilicho's consulship, when he represents the whole world as complaining because Stilicho hesitates to accept, he asks if it be because Eutropius, the base eastern minister, has defiled that high office. Even so, Stilicho will purify the consulship as he preserved it:

Sic trabeis ultor Stilicho Brutusque repertor.
Libertas populi primo tunc consule Bruto
Reddita per fasces; hic fascibus expulit ipsis
Servitium. Instituit sublimem Brutus honorem;
Adseruit Stilicho.²

When Stilicho accepts the office, Rome is made in her joy to call on the great dead to share her satisfaction.

"Nunc," ait, "Elysii lucos inrumpere campi,
Nunc libet, ut tanti Curii miracula voti
Fabriciisque feram, famae qui vulnere nuper
Calcatam flevire togam: iam prata choreis
Pulsent nec rigidos pudeat luisse Catones.
Audiat hoc senior Brutus Poenisque tremendi
Scipiadae."³

Indeed in another passage Stilicho's rule is represented as so just and mild that even the champions of liberty in the republic would gladly have lived under him:

¹ *Panegy. dictus Probrino et Olybrio coss.* 147-49.

² *De consul. Stilichonis* 2, 322-26.

³ *Ibid.* 378-84.

"Quis vero insignem tanto sub principe curam
Respuat?"

Nunc Brutus amaret
Vivere sub regno, tali succumberet aulae
Fabricius, cuperent ipsi servire Catones.¹

Furthermore, Claudian measures his hero's prowess in war by the famous deeds of the past; he declares that in the struggle against the Goths Stilicho alone performed deeds equal to those of Fabius, Marcellus, and the third Scipio combined. Again he flatters him in this fashion:

Victoria nulla
Clarior aut hominum votis optatior umquam
Contigit. An quisquam Tigranen armaque Ponti
Vel Pyrrhum Antiochique fugam vel vincla Iugurthae
Conferat aut Persen debellatumque Philippum?

Quis Punica gesta,
Quis vos, Scipiadae, quis te iam, Regule, nosset,
Quis lentum caneret Fabium, si iure perempto
Insultaret atrox famula Carthagine Maurus?
Haec omnis veterum revocavit adorea laurus.
Restituit Stilicho cunctos tibi, Roma, triumphos.²

And once more in another passage too long for quotation, Claudian declares that all the deeds of Curius, Decius, Fabricius, Scipio, Marcellus, Aemilius Paullus, and Marius combined were not equal to Stilicho's accomplishments.

Claudian, however, did not use his examples from antiquity solely for the purpose of securing comparisons favorable to Stilicho. He drew from them exhortations as well, as when he urged him to rise and crush the greedy ex-slave Eutropius, reminding him that it was the war with the pirates which exalted the great Pompey, and his victory over the slaves which made Crassus famous. A like inspiration was to be found in the words Claudian wished future ages to read on the battlefield of Pollentia:

Hic Cimbros fortesque Getas, Stilichone peremptos
Et Mario claris ducibus, tegit Italia tellus.
Discite vesanae Romam non temnere gentes.³

¹ *Panegy. dictus Manlio Theodoro* *coss.* 159 f., 163-65.

² *De consul. Stilichonis* 1, 368-72; 380-85.

³ *De bello Goth.* 645-17.

If the servile extravagance of many of these comparisons is such that it tends to keep us from appreciating the significance of our poet's appeal to the ancient glories of Rome, we must constantly remember that no more cogent appeal could be made to Roman pride than by marshaling the names of the great dead. Still it is a relief to turn to another passage, addressed to the young Honorius on the occasion of his fourth consulship, in which the great Theodosius is represented as instructing his son.

Interea Musis animus, dum mollior, instet
 Et quae mox imitere legat; nec desinat umquam
 Tecum Graia loqui, tecum Romana vetustas.
 Antiquos evolve duces, adsuesce futurae
 Militiae, Latium retro te confer in aevum.
 Libertas quaesita placet? mirabere Brutum.
 Perfidiam damnas? Metti satiabere poenis.
 Triste rigor nimius? Torquati despice mores.
 Mors impensa bonum? Decios venerare ruentes.
 Vel solus quid fortis agat, te ponte soluto
 Oppositus Cocles, Muci te flamma docebit;
 Quid mora perfringat, Fabius; quid rebus in artis
 Dux gerat, ostendet Gallorum strage Camillus.
 Discitur hinc nullos meritis obsistere casus:
 Prorogat aeternam feritas tibi Punica famam,
 Regule; successus superant adversa Catonis.
 Discitur hinc quantum paupertas sobria possit:
 Pauper erat Curius, reges cum vinceret armis,
 Pauper Fabricius, Pyrrhi cum sperneret aurum;
 Sordida dictator flexit Serranus aratra:¹

In such verses we hear the national pride ring true, and can sympathize.

While the heroes of Rome are thus honored, her great enemies also have their place; Pyrrhus, Hannibal, Philip, Antiochus, Spartacus, Tigranes, and Mithradates are all mentioned; Sulla is given no more honorable position than the traitor Mettius.

It will be seen that almost all those whom Claudian celebrated belonged to the period before the close of the Punic Wars. The fall of Carthage for later generations marked the end of Rome's heroic age. After that Roman life and action fell to mortal plane,

¹ *De quarto consul. Honorii* 396-415.

and only a few like Pompey and Cato were canonized. It is interesting therefore now to inquire what the attitude of Claudian was toward the rulers of the empire, which, as he says, "had been acquired and preserved by so much blood, which the efforts of a thousand leaders had gained, whose fabric Roman hands had wrought through so many centuries."¹ The passages from which I have already quoted show how great a thing the Roman world was to him even in the age of her weakness. Himself an imperial subject, we should expect that he would give praise to the emperors who had established the empire, but such is not the case. Julius Caesar is mentioned as having gathered insolently all law into his own hands, an act which marked the beginning of Rome's decline;² Augustus is remembered for the blood he shed in civil strife, bringing sorrow to his native land while he falsely claimed the credit of piety.³ On the other hand Nerva, Trajan, Antoninus Pius, the gentle Marcus Aurelius, and the bellatores Severi are named in honor.

As I have suggested already, Claudian saw signs of ill omen for the future: the bonds of empire were weakening, the Goths were within the borders; a rival capital on the Bosphorus threatened the empire's ancient center; a new religion had already won its way against the elder gods. Thus conditioned he found in Rome's heroic past something more than the means to adorn a courtier's verse; like many another of his day he gained comfort from the memory of Rome's antiquity and felt satisfaction in her present power. Even in the threatening time in which he lived he was always conscious that it was Rome which had welded the nations into one people and held dominion over them. With pride he could say that Virgil's charge to Rome had been obeyed. Not only had she ruled the peoples by her sway, spared the conquered, crushed the proud, but she had bound those peoples into one nation under law, had made the civilized world one fatherland for all. She had been indeed—

armorum legumque parens.

¹ *In Rufinum* 2, 50-52.

² *De bello Gild.* 1, 49 ff.

³ *De sexto cons. Honorii* 116-18.

DANGERS OF THE MODERN TREND OF EDUCATION¹

BY GEORGE HOBART LIBBY

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For some years it has seemed to me that the aim of the high-school student and the quality of his scholarship have been lowering. I find that this opinion prevails among my fellow-teachers. It grows harder every year to get scholarly effort. This, of course, does not mean that the present generation is inferior, but that something has taken away the motive to success of this kind. Scholarship does not seem worth while. Our young men do not honor the man of learning. The worth of men and institutions to them is measured by the lift they will give them to wealth and position. Getting on is the theme of success in America. We are looking more for men who do things than we are for men of high thought and wisdom.

The word education needs a new definition. In the past, it has meant the training of a man—the whole of him, his faculties, judgment, and appreciation. Hawley Smith has defined the new, saying the educated man is the man that is "onto his job." This is the prevailing popular notion. From grammar school to university, the utility idea, more than any other, determines the courses of study and methods of teaching. The new idea pays relatively little heed to discipline or culture as such; and to educate is to put into the possession of the student the technical knowledge and mastery of detail necessary in the doing of the thing he proposes to do. In a word, we are training for efficiency.

The demand for greater efficiency is the natural outgrowth of the keenness of competition in modern life, and it is the swinging of the pendulum back from the olden-time education in book lore alone, an education that left students, in a sense, educated but helpless. I know of a man who speaks thirteen languages, yet he is barely able to eke out a living as a court interpreter. The new

¹ A paper read before the Classical Association of New England, at Hartford, Conn., April 1, 1910.

education aims, in part, to give a knowledge that will fit a man to do things, to do something, or make something for which there is a demand in his day. In a word, it aims to be practical.

But however pedantic the education of the old type may have been, and however just the demand for greater efficiency, the safe course lies not in over-emphasis. It is no more sane to rush to one extreme than to another. It is as much a part of the education of the young to teach them how to live as it is to teach them how to get a living. We are under obligations to teach them what things to enjoy as well as to enable them to get the means of gratifying their tastes. The school must not leave the inculcation of the love of beauty and truth to luck and environment. A man whose training fits him merely for getting on finds not the full measure of happiness, and gives not the full measure of service of which he is capable. Thoreau once said: "Getting a living should be a pastime." We are making it the end of life. King Solomon said: "Happy is the man that findeth wisdom, and the man that getteth understanding. For the merchandise of it is better than the merchandise of silver, and the gain thereof than of fine gold. She is more precious than rubies, and all the things that thou canst desire are not be compared with her." No man is sufficient unto himself. Such understanding is in part the heritage of succeeding generations, and must be sought in the religion, history, art, and literature of the race. Civilization itself draws its life from the riches of the past, as a rugged oak springs from the soil of ages. This is the true realm of culture. This is human. Here is thought and here achievement of men akin to us. Their thoughts we can entertain, their deeds are the inspiration of mankind.

I am ready to dispute the claims of the extreme enthusiasts of vocational education on their own ground. This running into narrow channels of study and work in the high school is the college idea of specializing. Experience has proven that specializing without a broad cultural basis keeps a man from growing to his full stature. The best law schools and professional schools of all kinds are beginning to require the degree of A.B. for admission. If specializing after four years of high-school work narrows and unfits a man for power and liberal growth, what will it do for the callow grammar-

school graduate? Business men tell me that the boys who take little beyond grammar school except business courses are of little service; they lack general information, general ability. They are not ready to grasp a new situation, or attack a fresh problem. All they know is the rules they have learned; and they lack judgment to apply them under differing conditions. It is said that our citizen soldiers, in the Civil War, were the best of their time. And yet, they had not, like the soldiers of other nations, given years of their youth to military training. They were good soldiers, because they were first intelligent men.

The policy of adopting narrow courses is short-sighted. Men seem to think it a big thing if a boy can step out of school and immediately earn his living, notwithstanding the fact that, with the narrow training boys are sometimes getting, a living is about all they ever will earn. We ought to be building the success of a lifetime. Few men have not, at some time, earnestly wished they had given more time to their preparation for life work. It is better to be fitted to do excellent work in the world for twenty years than to be forced, through lack of preparation, to be common-place for a lifetime.

Narrow and superficial training is fostered by the elective system. The elective system rests upon a false working basis. It presumes that every boy is endowed with a certain bent or genius; that a boy's natural taste and interest will guide him in choice of work and studies. Now the average boy shows no impelling bent, except to get three or more square meals a day, to shun work, and to love play; and, left to himself, he will find the path of least resistance. I do not mean to say that all boys are fundamentally alike, that they have no individual bent or genius; but this, that their native bent is latent during the period of physical growth, or overshadowed by love of play common to youth. A boy ordinarily shows neither wit nor wisdom in the unguided choice of his studies; he is led by caprice. He takes this or that because his chum does. He aims to get teachers who are easy, professors with whom nobody ever flunks. He chooses the "snap courses." The business courses in our high school are overrun with pupils who elect these courses thinking they will be what they call a "cinch." President Nichols

says that probably one out of five college students selects courses with well-directed purpose. The more impulsive high-school boy will not do so well.

If the native bent or interest of the young is more or less latent, and needs to be touched by something outside of itself to call it into activity, then it seems wise to make all courses of study broad, so that a student may find in them his true interest, and through them find himself. The time to specialize is after this discovery.

If this reasoning is correct, it follows that the establishment of separate schools, a Latin high, an English high, a commercial high, a school for manual training, is not best. We should either put cultural and disciplinary courses into vocational schools, and mechanic arts courses into classical schools; or, better than that, bring them all into one institution. The chances of a boy's finding where his real interest lies will be greater in the general-purpose school. For the choice of schools is nothing but another way of choosing courses. If only one in five ordinarily makes a wise choice of courses, no greater percentage will make a wise choice of schools, and the chances for rectifying such a blunder are small, when the student must change schools to do it.

The elective courses of an easy type are immensely popular. With them we graduate a greater percentage of our pupils. The city fathers are delighted. In fact, these courses are planned, in part, to keep students in school. They are an offshoot of the kindergarten idea, following which we must keep pupils entertained. They are prompted, in no small degree, by the over-heated sympathies which some agitators feel for that element of the school population that is born without conveniences for thinking. Perhaps 20 per cent of those who take the easy courses do so from necessity, while 80 per cent are led to take them through laziness. By giving such an option, we are cheapening the work of the majority to favor a few. Leaving the ninety and nine to care for the one-hundredth sheep may be good Scripture, but it is poor pedagogy.

It remains that we should consider the influence the college system of entrance has upon education. The tendency is to increase the number of subjects offered, and to shorten the time given to a subject. This is what pedagogues call enriching the courses. The

courses of the grammar school have been enriched until these pupils know no subject as well as they used to. It is the old question, "Which is better, a thorough knowledge of a few necessary subjects or a superficial knowledge of many?" The enrichment of the grammar school is the work of faddists; the W.C.T.U. thinks the education of that period not complete without a knowledge of hygiene and alcoholics; the nature enthusiast must have nature-study; the manual-training enthusiast must have sloyd. All are good things, but if every sect possessed of but one idea is going to incorporate that idea in the schools, there will be no system nor limit. The greater diversity of requirement by the colleges is the work of specialists. Every college professor is, or ought to be, something of an enthusiast. He lays over-emphasis upon the subject he teaches. He gets it into the list of required or optional subjects. With such a multiplicity of subjects, the time of requirement must be short. A boy may offer two years of Latin, two years of French, one year of German, one-half year of botany, one-half year of zoölogy, one year of physics, and other tidbits. But the boy of trained mind and purpose is the boy who has given long-persistent effort in fewer fields of study. He has discovered that he has power, he has found himself. *Possunt quia posse videntur.*

The strongest educational tendency in recent years has been to put the study of Latin and Greek in disfavor. When this movement began, the opponents of the classics said, "Why study the dead, when we have the living? Here are French and German, living tongues. In each is a noble literature. They, with modern science, are as rich in culture and discipline as the classics, and they afford what the classics cannot give, a practical knowledge to be used in everyday life." Twenty or twenty-five years ago arguments pro and con were somewhat speculative, but now the new idea has had a fair trial, and we demand proof that the claims made for it were well grounded. I have no evidence to submit. A Dartmouth professor tells me that the boys selected to assist professors in science work are almost uniformly boys who offered Greek in their preparation, and no science. The Greek boy has outstripped the science boy in his own field, before the end of their college days. And this claim cannot be made that the brightest

boys elect Greek. This was once true, but no longer. An Amherst professor of biology says that the boys best equipped for his work are those who offered Greek in preparation. And this superiority is due not merely to the aid Greek gives in learning scientific terms; the process of thought employed in the study of Greek is the same that is employed in biological work. For, to translate a sentence in Latin or Greek, the student must observe, compare, discriminate, and judge. I have in my possession a printed report of the convention of the American Association of Engineers, in which a prominent member says that in his judgment engineers should have the same broad classical training as a preparation for their work which is still thought good for men in other professions. An association of professional men in the West caused it to be put on record that, in the judgment of the association, the young men coming into their ranks without classical training are not big enough to uphold the prestige of their professions; that their training fits them neither to grapple with new problems that arise in their work nor to hold the position they should hold among men. These are opinions of men, but they are the opinions of intelligent men with evidence before them. And if we examine the claims made for the new education, we shall find the premises weak. The claim that we should study the living, rather than the dead, involves what Lowell calls a "verbal fallacy." "Only those languages can properly be called dead in which nothing living has been written. If the classic languages are dead, they yet speak to us, and with a clearer voice than that of any living tongue."

Modern languages cannot yield the discipline afforded by the classics. French is all but worthless for a Latin student. It is too easy. German has not a logically developed grammar. Science means too much the following of formulae, typewritten directions, and playing with apparatus; these things are not scientific research, nor training of the taste and logical faculties. As to the practical value of the fact that French and German are spoken tongues, we may be greatly misled. I come from a manufacturing town, where probably more than half the population is French. And yet, the practical value of French in my school is not worthy of consideration. In the first place, the pupils cannot speak French, and in

the next place, they wouldn't be understood if they could. The French of New England cities is not Parisian. A knowledge of German is invaluable to specialists. But, in the true principles of artistic expression, the Greek literature is still supreme, and of it we may say as the Greeks said of the work of one of their sculptors, "It is the rule." As in the history of our planet there were great epochs when the earth and sea were parted and the mountains were formed and earth's treasures found an abiding-place, so in the history of the race conditions at times have been such that man has expressed himself in some inimitable way. The favoring conditions may never again return. In fervor, faith, and sublimity of thought, the words of Moses, David, and Isaiah will never be surpassed. The conditions which made a splendor of Greek poetry and art may never again exist. Though we are living in a great age, no age sufficeth unto itself. We must still learn of those men and peoples whose genius is of no time or place, but is the possession of the race forever.

The nature of the topic upon which I am speaking forces me to pick flaws in ideas and systems, but I am an optimist. I believe in all these things. I believe in efficiency and training to do things. I believe in vocational studies, and the elective system, and the study of things modern. The evils attending the incorporation of these ideas into our system of education are inevitable. These ideas are new, and as always happens, extravagant claims are made for them, especially by those whose enthusiasm outstrips their judgment. The equilibrium will be found. If those who most clearly see the claims of each field of study stand by their convictions our schools will turn out men at once competent to do the world's work and possessing the initial power to appreciate what appeals to men of culture in this and all time.

VIRGIL IN THE AGE OF ELIZABETH¹

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No period in English literature has been more distinctly romantic than the age of Shakespeare. The spirit of the times is admirably expressed in these words of Mulcaster, who was, it will be remembered, the schoolmaster of Edmund Spenser: "I love Rome, but London better. I favor Italy, but England more. I honor the Latin, but I worship the English."² The new spirit had crept into the universities. In 1580 Gabriel Harvey writes of Cambridge in terms that to us, somehow, sound strangely modern: "Tully and Demosthenes nothing so much studied as they were wonte; Livy and Sallust possibly rather more than less. Lucian never so much. Aristotle much named but little read. . . . The French and Italian, when so highly regarded of scholars? The Latin and Greek when so lightly?" Nevertheless, if something of the former reverence for Latin and Greek had departed—the pessimistic wail of such a thoroughgoing classicist as Harvey need never be taken too seriously—the study of the classics was still the basis of all education, still the gate to learning. Queen Elizabeth herself, to use the words of one of her courtiers, spoke Latin "readily, justly and even critically";³ and her translations from Plutarch, Horace, and Boethius may be read in the publications of the Early English Text Society. Under the patronage of the court the position of such scholars as Sir John Cheke and Roger Ascham was by no means without distinction; and there was much interest in classical learning throughout the kingdom.

Latin, not English, was taught in the schools. Virgil was often included in the curriculum; and seems to have been used in the fifth

¹ Paper read before the Classical Association of New England at Hartford, Conn., April 2, 1910.

² Quoted by Spingarn, *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, 296.

³ Roger Ascham in Nichol's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*. For the entire passage see Courthope, *History of English Poetry*, II, 129, 130.

year of Latin study.¹ To be sure, Mantuan, the "good old Mantuan" of Holofernes, was often read in place of the *Eclogues*; and Ascham in the *School-master* prefers Varro, Sallust, Caesar, and Cicero to Lucretius, Catullus, Virgil, and Horace, because he wishes his pupils to be trained in oratory and history and not in the epic and lyric. But Buchanan, the great humanist of Scotland and himself a pedagogue, has in one of his Latin poems the picture of a teacher, rising at five in the morning to wield the flog in one hand, and the Virgil in the other, flogging and correcting all day long.² In Sir Philip Sidney's masque, the *Lady of May* (1578), there is a typical Renaissance pedant, the forerunner of the tiresome Holofernes. His name is Rombus and his appellation, "good Latin fool."³ Some of his misquotations are from Virgil; they certainly imply that the poet was mouthed in his school.

Parcare subjectos et debillire superbos;
Haec olim memonasse iuvebit,

are only a few of his exclamations, which reach a worthy grammatical climax in "O Tempori! O Moribus!" Since the masque was written for the queen and performed before the court at the earl of Leicester's splendid mansion, Sidney must have had confidence in the ability of the gay ladies and their knights to appreciate jests at the expense of the classics. A yet more clear indication of the fact that Virgil occupied an important place in the classical reading of the time is found in the quaint introduction to a translation of the *Georgics* made in 1589 by one A. F., probably Abraham Fleming: "The translator's intent considered [namely, to do some good for grammar schools] the lesse checke should redounde to this honest and painefull translation; where in the expositor hath been carefull to statisfy the courteous." He proceeds to say that he intends to please himself, to delight his readers, but above all to use "plaine words applied to blunt capacities, considering the expositor's drift to consist in delivering a direct order of construction for the release of weak Grammatists, not in attempting

¹ Cf. W. S. Baynes, "What Shakespeare Learned at School," *Fraser's Magazine*, XX, N.S. (1879-1880), 617-19.

² Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, 36.

³ Saintsbury, *The Earlier Renaissance*, 56.

⁴ *Miscellaneous Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Gray, 268-69.

by curious device and disposition to content courtly Humanists.”¹ All this euphuism implies that Fleming’s real object is to extend the knowledge of one of his favorite books among those who had small Latin and less Greek.

That such material as the works of Virgil afforded was welcomed by Elizabethan readers, the number of the translations of Virgil attests.² In 1553 a version of the complete *Aeneid* by Gawin Douglas was printed; it is this version which Sackville made use of in his *Induction*. The earl of Surrey in 1557 introduced blank verse to the English by his translation of books ii and iv of the *Aeneid*. One of the most popular of the Elizabethan versions was that of Thomas Phaer made in the fourteen-syllable ballad measure which was used later in Chapman’s *Homer*. Phaer had translated the first seven books in 1558 and the first nine books by 1562; in 1573 the work was completed by Dr. Twyne, and the version of Phaer and Twyne, reprinted in 1583, 1584, 1596, and 1600, had a high reputation and received commendation from William Webbe in his *Discourse of English Poetry* (1586).³ In 1582 Richard Stanyhurst translated the first four books of the *Aeneid* into English hexameters; his work is of interest because it apparently derived its inspiration from Gabriel Harvey and the *Areopagus*, and is unique by reason of its curious orthography, which was a serious attempt at phonetic reform.⁴ The other works were not overlooked. The *Eclogues* were translated by Fleming in 1575 and in 1589, and the *Georgics* by the same author in 1589. Spenser paraphrased the *Culex* in his *Virgil’s Gnat*, and Webb gives a translation of the first two eclogues into quantitative English verse. The list is doubtless incomplete; but so far as it goes, it shows that in the last half of the sixteenth century at least eleven translations from Virgil were printed, many of which were associated with some of the most interesting metrical experiments of the time. Even for a period that was so intensely interested in translation as was the Elizabethan age, the number of English versions of Virgil is significant, especially since very few Latin editions of the poet seem to have been printed in England during

¹ Quoted from the original edition in the Boston Public Library.

² Conington, *Miscellaneous Essays*, I, 137-46.

³ Arber reprint, 46.

⁴ Spingarn, *op. cit.*, 302.

the sixteenth century. The British Museum Catalogue gives only one, i.e., 1580. Very few of these translations lay claim to accuracy. The object of the translator in those days was to present the material in an attractive form and to extend acquaintance with his author.

There was likewise a genial handling of the classics and a gentlemanly willingness to quote from memory. Sidney himself, who was a good scholar and who ridiculed affected learning in the Malapropian excesses of his *Rombus*, quotes, if we may judge him strictly, but indifferently well; even the learned Bacon can be inaccurate. These facts may clear some difficulties as we pass to a consideration of Virgil in the works of Shakespeare. So much confusion has been created by the famous allusion to Shakespeare's classical attainments by Ben Jonson, that it may be well here to recall that without much doubt the greatest poet of our language was grounded in Latin at the grammar school of Stratford and that he could, and doubtless did, read Plautus in the original in later life. No one could write such a vivid school scene as that between Sir Hugh Evans and Master Page in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*,¹ unless he knew at first hand the trials of questions in accident, and "understandings for thy cases and the numbers of the genders." Furthermore, it should not be forgotten that Shakespeare made his first appeal to the reading public, not through his plays but through poetical versions of well-known classical stories, *Venus and Adonis*, and *Lucrece*. That such a man should not have been interested in reading the one poet who was then regarded not only as the laureate of Rome but as the supreme poet of all literature is well-nigh incomprehensible. As a matter of fact, there are several indications in Shakespeare of a knowledge of Virgil, although no conclusive evidence that such knowledge was at first hand. The description of the painting of the Fall of Troy in *Lucrece* owes many of its details to the first and second books of the *Aeneid*.² The play actor in *Hamlet* is asked to recite a speech based on "Aeneas' tale to Dido and thereabout of it especially where he speaks of Priam's slaughter."³ In *Henry VI*, Part II, (III, ii, 114) Queen Margaret complains that she has tempted Suffolk's tongue

¹ Act IV, scene i.

² Ll. 1366 ff. Cf. introduction in *Cambridge Edition of Shakespeare*.

³ Act II, scene ii, 468.

To sit and witch me, as Ascanius did
When he to madding Dido would unfold
His father's acts commenced in burning Troy.

In the final scene of *Titus Andronicus*, Marcus bids his brother Lucius speak

as erst our ancestor
When with his solemn tongue he did discourse
To love-sick Dido's sad attending ear
The story of that baleful, burning night
When subtle Greeks surprised King Priam's Troy.

And above all in the moonlit scene of the *Merchant of Venice* we have the wonderful picture of the forsaken heroine:

In such a night
Stood Dido with a willow in her hand
Upon the wild sea banks, and waft her love
To come again to Carthage.

These are but a few, though perhaps among the most obvious, of the references to Virgil in Shakespeare. In each case the literary reminiscence and allusion seems to come from one who had read and appreciated the Roman poet. It is altogether misleading to try to prove from the passage in the *Merchant of Venice*, as some commentators would, that Shakespeare was no reader of the classics. Such comments come from those who not only know no poetry, but who are not even acquainted with the use made of classical writers by the poets of the Elizabethan age.

The debt of Edmund Spenser to Virgil is so large that only one or two phases of the question can here be discussed. The poems of the *Shepherd's Calendar* are based on the *Eclogues*; *Virgil's Gnat* is a paraphrase of the *Culex*; and many passages in the *Faery Queen* are derived from the *Aeneid*. The character of Arthur follows the usual Renaissance conception that saw in the person of Aeneas the model of the good governor and the virtuous man. But in his letter to Raleigh Spenser pays tribute to modern epics, citing by the side of the heroes of Homer and Virgil those of Ariosto and Tasso. Spenser's use of the Italian poets raises the interesting question of his possible indebtedness to Dante. For example, so excellent a critic as James Russell Lowell marked in his own private copy of Spenser's works two passages as from Dante that clearly follow Virgil much more

closely. Again, in Sackville's *Induction* many writers have professed to see imitation of the *Inferno*. To be sure, few questions in the study of Spenser are more perplexing. Dr. Paget Toynbee, the Dante scholar, writes thus of the possible use of the Italian poet: "As to Spenser if I were compelled to say Yes or No, I should say No; but I am still in doubt." But when it is recalled how slight was the knowledge of Dante in the England of Elizabeth, how wide was the use of Virgil, and how difficult it is to distinguish between a romantic imitation of Virgil and the influence of Dante, it is perhaps just as well to remember that to both Sackville and Spenser Virgil would be the natural and the most easily available model for poetry which depicts the scenes of the lower world.

But if it is often difficult in studying the poets of Shakespeare's time to distinguish between classical and modern sources, there is no doubt of Virgil's pre-eminence so far as the literary criticism of the age is concerned. Renaissance writers held the epic in high esteem; some critics, from Vida to Rapin, looked upon it as the highest form of poetry. The *Aeneid* was held to be the model for a proper epic. In some writers reverence for Virgil approached literary idolatry. Scaliger, for example, believed that Virgil had created another Nature of such beauty and perfection that the poet need not concern himself with the realities of life, but can go to the second Nature created by Virgil for the subject-matter of his imitation. "All the things which you have to imitate you have according to another nature; that is Virgil." Here, of course, are the roots of pseudo-classicism. Through the French and Italian critics this conception of Virgil's power came into English literature; and if the poet is used somewhat sparingly as a critical aid, mediaeval Maronism was still a potent faith, although it was tempered by Humanism.¹ Sidney's devotion is typical. He cites the *Sortes Virgilianae*; he asks if Nature or philosopher's counsels have ever brought forth such a virtuous man in all fortunes as Virgil's Aeneas; he condemns Spenser for the framing of his style in the *Shepherd's Calendar* to an old rustic language, "since neither Theocritus in Greek, Virgil in Latin, nor Sannazzaro in Italian did affect it"; he even commends Aeneas for obeying the god's commandment to leave Dido, "though not only all passionate kindness, but

¹ Gregory Smith, *op. cit.*, I, lxxvii.

even the human consideration of virtuous gratefulness would have craved other of him." Finally he conjures his readers to believe with Scaliger that no philosopher's precepts can sooner make you an honest man than the reading of Virgil; and he promises to those who love poetry that their souls shall be placed with Dante's Beatrice or Virgil's Anchises.¹ Sidney's comments on Homer, on the other hand, are for the most part perfunctory. To him Virgil is the supreme poet. But he is by no means blind to the merit of modern poetry. If he was imbued with the classic, he was appreciative of the romantic.

Many other writers of the time share Sidney's enthusiasm for Virgil. Thus Thomas Churchyard in some preliminary verses of the *Pithy, Pleasant and Profitable Works of Maister Skelton* (written 1568), mentions Marot, Petrarch, Dante, Homer, and Ovid, and concludes:

But Virgill won the fraes
And past them all for deep engyen,
And made them all to gae
Upon the books he made.²

If Churchyard represents the tribute mediocrity, or worse, can pay, in the works of Francis Bacon there is abundant evidence of the worship given to Virgil by genius. The Roman is quoted often in the *Essays*; and some of his finest passages are set forth in the *Advancement of Learning*. Although the fact is too often overlooked, Bacon indeed was no mean literary critic, and in the second book of this work he pays a well-merited tribute to the *Georgics*. "Virgil . . . got as much glory of eloquence, wit and learning in the expression of the observations of husbandry, as of the heroical acts of Aeneas." And Bacon, in arguing that good government and learning agree, gives as proof that in the time of the first two Caesars, "which had the art of government in greatest perfection, there lived the best poet, Virgilius Maro."³

Yet no survey of Elizabethan criticism can fail to note that many of the best writers were beginning to appreciate both the intrinsic and the relative worth of poetry written in their own day. Thus

¹ *Defense of Poesy* (ed. Cook); cf. Index under "Virgil."

² Quoted in *Dante in English Literature* by Paget Toynbee, I, 53.

³ *Advancement of Learning* (ed. Cook), 17.

William Webbe, who yields to none in his admiration of Virgil, writes in 1586 that "Spenser's fine poetical wit and most exquisite learning, as shown abundantly in the *Shepherd's Calendar*, was inferior to the works neither of Theocritus in Greeke nor Virgille in Latin whom he narrowly imitateth."¹ Other writers go still farther. Chapman trounces Scaliger roundly and turns the balance in favor of his beloved Homer. And Sir John Harington, in 1591, in his praise of Ariosto boldly declares that "whatsoever is praiseworthy in Virgil is plentifully to be found in Ariosto and some things that Virgil could not have, for the ignorance of the age he lived in." And yet it is Harington who writes the charming sentence: "But what need we further witnes, do we not make our children read Virgil commonly before they can understand it, as a testimonie that we do generally approve it? And yet we see old men study it, as a prooffe that they do specially admire it; so as one writes very pretily, that children do wade in Virgil, and yet strong men do swim in it."²

The poets and writers of Shakespeare's age, we may confidently assert, looked upon Virgil in a large and generous way. Of course only the fringe of the subject has here been touched; and the facts have been stated, not with the thought that the proper interpretation of them has been made, but that the varied extent of Virgil's influence may be understood. Sometimes we cannot help feeling that the great Elizabethan writers had the heart of the matter. Theirs was no rigid, cloistered classicism. They were primarily interested in their own language and in their own poetry; but they builded for the most part on the literatures of Greece and Rome. They had respect for the English tongue and for their own achievements. They wished English poetry to come to its own. But they found the best touchstone to be that poetry that had already won centuries of fame. They insisted on the worth of their own experience; and as the greatest classicist of them all, Ben Jonson, wrote: "It is true that the ancients opened the gates and made the way that went before us, but as guides, not commanders; *Non domini nostri, sed duces fuere*. Truth lies open to all; it is no man's several. *Patet omnibus veritas; nondum est occupata*."³

¹ In Smith, *op. cit.*, I, 232.

² *Ibid.*, II, 212.

³ *Timber* (ed. Schelling), 7.

And so the poets and prose writers of those days kept their minds open and their pens ready for inspiration from abroad or from olden times. They changed the motto on the coins of Castille until it read *plus ultra*. There was more beyond. And forth they went to discover it, whether it was land or poetry.¹ But they were ready to use the experience of the past, and especially they steered their craft often by the compass of that poet whom Bacon called "the chastest and the royalest that to the memory of man is known."

¹ Cf. the summary of the Elizabethan age given by Professor Wendell in his book on *The Temper of the Seventeenth Century in English Literature*, 44.

Notes

Contributions in the form of notes or discussions should be sent to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

WHO WERE THE VANDALS?

In her article in the *Classical Journal* for October, Miss Hosford, referring to the Vandals, says: "The implements of the higher culture were the most worthless of their playthings. Books made a bonfire, easy to light. Marble statues had a certain value, for they would go into the limekiln better than blocks from the quarry. Bronzes could be melted for armor or weapons," etc.

When one remembers, for instance, that the Colosseum was quarried for the material for St. Peter's; when he sees statues of Paul and Peter crowning the historic columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius; when he reflects that the noble bronze equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitoline owes its preservation solely to the fact that the Christians ignorantly supposed it to represent Constantine, he will not feel disposed to blame all the "vandalism" upon the Vandals.

Miss Hosford's allusion to the bronzes is especially unfortunate. The traveler in Rome who stands at the entrance to the Pantheon and looks up at the clumsy timbers supporting the roof of the porch, recalls with Byronic indignation the act of that illustrious member of the Berberini family, Pope Urban VIII, in despoiling the grand old edifice of the bronze tubes which were the original supports, and casting them into columns for the high altar of St. Peter's, and into cannon. "Quod non fecerant barbari, sed fecerunt Berberini."

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EASY RULES FOR THE ACCENT OF ENCLITIC COMBINATIONS

It has often been a source of surprise to the writer that Greek grammars and beginners' books present such formidable rules for the accent of combinations of words in which enclitics occur. Without some preliminary simplification, the lesson in which this matter is first taken up generally results in the thorough confusion of even a bright class. Such statements as "a disyllabic enclitic following a paroxytone retains its accent" are comprehended slowly and memorized with great difficulty.

A number of years ago some simpler rules than any I have seen elsewhere suggested themselves to me. I have given them to every class that I have

taken through the beginners' book since then, and they have never failed to clear the matter up at once. Here they are:

1. Write down the words as they are found in the vocabulary.
2. Erase the accent on the enclitic.
3. Put an acute on the last syllable of the word preceding the enclitic, unless it already has an accent.
4. Avoid (a) two successive acutes; (b) three successive unaccented syllables.
5. If 4(a) results, erase the new accent. Then if 4(b) results, restore the accent to the enclitic.

The process of erasing and adding the accents becomes quite unnecessary after a few trials; the student soon sees the changes in his mind, and presently learns where to put the accent without any mechanical process whatsoever. Diligent attention to the rules usually given brings about the same result, of course, but I am confident that any teacher who will give his class the rules suggested will find a rather perplexing difficulty eased away at once.

CHARLES B. RANDOLPH

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ON "FALCES PRAEACUTAE," CAES. B.G. III. 14. 5

That our standard American lexicon (the *Harper's Latin Dictionary*, edited by Lewis and Short in 1879) is far from being up to date is well known, and its deficiencies have not been made good by any work in the English language with which I am acquainted. In fact this book, which has not been revised since its publication thirty years ago, may still be called the standard lexicon of England and America. The reason for this state of affairs is pretty well known, and need not be enlarged upon.

The Germans are much better off than we are, for Georges' *Handwörterbuch* is frequently issued in a revised edition, and except for the omission in most cases of the exact references for the passages cited from the Latin writers, is remarkably good. This feature, however, while in accordance with the purpose and plan of the book, makes it inadequate for some of the needs of the student, which, it is but fair to say, it was doubtless never intended to serve.

The old Forcellini, therefore, in the revision of De Vit (1860-75) is still the only Latin lexicon which is reasonably complete and satisfactory, except the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, as far as it goes. Of course the Forcellini-De Vit cannot include the results of the discoveries of the last forty years or so, but it is often superior to the more modern dictionaries, most of which are directly or indirectly based upon its collections of material.

This appears, for example, in the word *praeacutus*, which it defines as *in anteriore parte acutus vel valde acutus*. The second part of this definition has been discarded, whether by oversight or by design, in the newer lexicons, but

it seems called for in some uses of the word. Georges cites only *stipiles* (Caes.), *sudes* (Sall.), and *cuspis* (Ovid), and in all these cases the meaning "sharpened at the end" or "pointed" is appropriate enough, although the epithet might seem somewhat otiose in Ovid *Met.* vii, 131. This is not the case however with the *falces praeacutae* of Caesar, *B.G.* iii.14. 5 These instruments were *insertae adfixaeque longuriis* and were *non absimili forma muralium falcium*. His (Caesar continues) *cum funes, qui antemnas ad malos destinabant comprehensi adductique erant, remigio remis incitato praerumpebantur*. It is obvious that the *falces* were sharpened, not at the point, or not only at the point, but on their edge; and even if they had projecting points as well, like the *falces murales* which they are said to resemble to some extent, this fact is of no significance compared with the keenness of the blade. I should therefore go back to Forcellini and translate *praeacutae* by "very sharp," a thing which none of the vocabularies to Caesar do, so far as I am aware.

That *prae-* in composition has both meanings is well known; see for example Stolz, *Hist. lat. Gramm.* I, 398, where the group to which *praeacutus* in the sense of "sharpened at the end" belongs does not seem to be represented. Examples of compounds with *prae-* which have a double meaning are perhaps *praealbus*, in *anteriori parte albus vel valde albus*, and *praeconus*, *valde vel ante tempus canus*; at least the scholiasts seem to have been able to understand these words either way.

The intensive force of *praeacutus* seems the better one in Plin. *N.H.* viii. 26, *ita pendens alterum poplitem dextra caedit ac praeacuta bipenni hoc crure tardato profugiens alterius poplitis nervos ferit*, for an axe is sharpened, not on its end, but on its edge, and even if *praeacutus* could mean "sharpened on the edge," why should this very obvious feature of an axe be emphasized? The meaning "very sharp" or "keen" seems invariably the better one when *praeacutus* is applied to edged tools. With stakes, and the like, "pointed" is usually the natural meaning.

In some cases one might well be in doubt which of the two meanings to choose, for example that of the *scopuli praeacuti* of Pliny *N.H.* viiii. 38, where the adjective is variously rendered by the translators. The *squamae praeacutae* of the strange fishes described by Pliny in *N.H.* viiii. 69, are likened by him to *clavi caligares*, or hob-nails. To judge from Pliny's words, and from Cuvier's and Rondelet's description of the fish, which apparently make their appearance in modern times for a brief season, at the same time of year, in the lakes of northern Italy, they had large scales, in the middle of each of which was a small sharp point. Pliny's comparison with hob-nails then would seem to refer to the general appearance of a soldier's boot studded with such nails rather than to the points of the nails. Bostock and Riley's translation, "remarkable for the number of their scales and their exceeding sharpness," seems to take *prae-* in an intensive sense, as I should be inclined to do. It must be admitted, however, that in this case the other meaning is not impossible.

I am disposed to see the same intensive force of *prae-* in *praerumpantur*, in the same sentence as the *falces praeacutae*; i.e., the ropes which bound the yards to the mast were violently torn apart. That this really means that they were cut, is shown by *abscisis* at the beginning of the next sentence. This force of *prae-* is sometimes present in *praecido* and *praefringo*, which are like *praeacutus* in being used in a double sense, while in *praefulgeo* the intensive force is apparently the only one. In the case of all these words the definitions of the Forcellini-De Vit are better than those of the more modern lexicons and vocabularies, so far as I have examined the latter.

That Caesar unquestionably uses *praeacutus* in some connections with the meaning "sharpened at the end" is of course no reason for supposing that he always used the word in the same sense.

JOHN C. ROLFE

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Current Events

Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Volkmann School, Boston, Mass., for the territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States, west to the Mississippi River; Walter Miller, Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La., for the southern states; and by Frederick C. Eastman, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the territory west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. This department will present everything that is properly news—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.

EBEN ALEXANDER

The classics suffered a great loss on March 11 of last spring in the death of Dr. Eben Alexander, professor of Greek and dean of the University of North Carolina. Although he made very few contributions to the literature of the classics, he spread abroad the love and appreciation of them through his rare abilities as a teacher and through the strong influence he possessed over students and colleagues alike. Perhaps he is best known to the public at large as minister to Greece under President Cleveland's second administration, and as one of the most zealous advocates of the revival of the Olympic games. The Classical Association will remember gratefully the address he delivered before their annual meeting in Nashville two years ago. In the latter part of his life he was the recipient of more than one offer of a college presidency, but he preferred to remain loyal to the teaching of Greek, for which he knew that a college presidency would leave him but little time. He was universally beloved by those who knew him, and he possessed that magnetic charm and courtesy of manner which drew at once from the merest stranger the deepest and truest respect. His culture was genuine and deep-seated, and his life, we make bold to claim, was a living witness to the value of the branch of knowledge he pursued.

Kentucky

There is an unusually large enrolment in the Greek classes at Transylvania University this year. The total reaches about seventy.

North Carolina

Professor Charles W. Bain, formerly professor of Latin in the University of the South (Sewanee) and later professor of ancient languages in the University of South Carolina, has gone to the University of North Carolina to take the chair of Greek left vacant by the death of Dr. Eben Alexander.

South Carolina

The work in classics at the University of South Carolina is divided between two professors of ancient languages. The professorship left open by the

departure of Professor Charles W. Bain to the University of North Carolina is now filled by Professor Louis Park Chamberlayne (Pd.D. Halle, 1908), formerly of Amherst College.

Out of a total of 395 students 173 are enrolled in the classes in Greek and Latin. Greek is not required in any way; Latin is required only in certain courses.

Mr. Vernon Cook has resigned his position in the Charleston High School and gone to Germany for three years' study of the classics in the German universities.

Louisiana

Mr. Freeman Bozeman Daniel, A.B., Birmingham College, is teaching fellow in Latin at Tulane University this year.

Five men from Tulane University took the Rhodes Scholarship examinations in October.

Columbia University

Professor Frank Gardner Moore comes to Columbia as professor of classical philology, from Trinity College, Hartford. Professor LaRue Van Hook comes from Princeton, as associate professor of classical philology. Dr. Dean Putnam Lockwood of Harvard has been appointed assistant professor of classical philology. Professor Van Hook's work is primarily at Barnard College. Miss Grace Harriet Goodale has been made assistant in classical philology at Barnard College.

Harvard University

The following changes go into effect this fall: Dr. C. N. Jackson has been made assistant professor of Greek and Latin. Dr. C. R. Post has been appointed instructor in Greek and in fine arts (formerly in romance languages and in fine arts). T. A. Miller, A.M., has been appointed instructor in Greek and Latin.

The Harvard Classical Club met and organized for the year on October 26. The first speaker was Professor Clifford Herschel Moore, whose topic was "The Study of Classical Philology."

University of Pennsylvania

William Alexander Lamberton, A.M., Litt.D., professor of the Greek language and literature, and head of the Greek Department, died suddenly on September 8. William N. Bates, professor of Greek, becomes acting head of the Greek Department. Henry Lamar Crosby, Ph.D., formerly preceptor in classics at Princeton University, was last June appointed assistant professor of Greek. Walter W. Hyde, Ph.D., formerly instructor in Greek at Cornell University, was this fall appointed instructor in Greek. Eugene Stock McCartney, A.B., has been made instructor in Latin. Walton Brooks McDaniel, Ph.D. (promoted last November from assistant professor of classical philology to be professor of Latin) is absent in Italy on leave of absence during the first term

of 1910-11, to do research work. Roland G. Kent, Ph.D., instructor in Greek and Latin, was promoted last November to be assistant professor of comparative philology.

Williams College

Mr. John S. Galbraith, who was absent last year pursuing graduate work and giving instruction in Greek and Latin at Harvard, returns this year as assistant professor of Greek and Latin. Mr. J. F. Ferguson, instructor in Greek and Latin last year in Mr. Galbraith's place, fills a similar position this fall at Yale.

Yale University

The only change in the classical faculty is the promotion of Dr. Wilmot H. Thompson, Jr., to the rank of assistant professor of Greek.

Kansas

At the Latin Teachers' Round Table of the Kansas State Teachers' Association there was a large attendance, and a live discussion was provoked by the program which was presented.

Greek evidently maintains its own at Baker University. Sixty-six students are enrolled in the beginning class. The class in Greek drama is preparing to present the *Frogs* of Aristophanes this year before the public.

At Washburn College the place of Professor W. P. Clark, professor of Greek, is filled this year by Professor J. L. Hancock, of Chicago.

Iowa

A general course in classical archaeology organized by Professor Ebersole of Cornell College has numbered about thirty students each year for the past three years. A course in teachers' Latin has been added to the curriculum.

At Drake University the *Adelphi* was presented in English translation on the evening of May 10 by the Latin Club under the direction of Professor C. O. Denny, assisted by Miss Pearl Winn of the Department of Dramatic Art.

Arkansas

J. G. Cubage (B.A. University of Arkansas) has succeeded Professor Ury McKenzie as professor of Latin in the Arkansas State Normal School.

The classical and modern language teachers have organized a language section of the Arkansas State Teachers' Association.

Minnesota

The Greek Club of the University of Minnesota, an organization of a semi-social character, will devote itself to the study of the drama during the year.

Walter Stearns Davis, professor of ancient history at the University of Minnesota, has just issued, through the Macmillan Co., his new work entitled *Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome*.

Colorado

A very material increase in the number of Latin students is reported from the University of Colorado. In this university Professor T. B. R. Hellemis has returned to his duties from a year's leave of absence spent in travel. Professor M. G. Derham has been promoted to a professorship of Latin. Director E. C. Hewitt and Professor J. P. Harrington of the American School of Archaeology are delivering a series of lectures at the same university on American archaeology.

Ohio

Professor S. B. Platner, who has spent a year in Italy and Sicily, has returned to Western Reserve University. Mr. Hiram Gillispie, who had charge of Professor Platner's classes during his absence, has gone to Westminster College, Westminster, Colo.

Mr. Roland H. Tanner, head of the Classical Department at the Central High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for several years past, has been awarded a fellowship at Princeton, where he is now studying. Mr. Tanner expects to return to the Central High School at the close of the year. Miss Effie Campbell has been appointed head of the Classical Department in Mr. Tanner's absence.

The high schools of Columbus, Ohio, have a wide-awake, active Latin club, of which they may well be proud. The club meets three times a year at a dinner in some prominent hotel and is addressed by an invited speaker. The meetings occur in November, February, and May. The year's program, so far as made out, is as follows: for the November meeting, Professor Josiah Smith, of Ohio State University; for the February meeting, Professor C. N. Cole, of Oberlin College. The speaker for the May meeting has not yet been announced.

ANNOUNCEMENT

In accordance with a suggestion made some months ago in the columns of the *Classical Weekly*, and reinforced of late by requests from many quarters, it has been decided to publish in a volume the papers which have been given at the Michigan Classical Conference in recent years on the value of humanistic studies. The volume will be entitled *Latin and Greek in American Education* and will be edited by Francis W. Kelsey. It will contain, first, three papers by the editor on "The Present Position of Latin and Greek," "The Value of Latin and Greek as Educational Instruments," and "Latin and Greek in Our Courses of Study"; these will be followed by a paper on "The Nature of Culture Studies," by Robert M. Wenley. The greater part of the volume will be devoted to the symposia, which have been published, as they appeared, in the *School Review* or *Educational Review*, and also as Bulletins of the University of Michigan; the titles, and the names of the contributors, are as follows:

SYMPOSIUM I

"The Value of Humanistic, particularly Classical, Studies as a Preparation for the Study of Medicine": DEAN VICTOR C. VAUGHAN, DR. CHARLES B. G. DE NANCRÈDE, DEAN WILLIAM B. HINSDALE.

SYMPOSIUM II

"The Value of Humanistic Studies as a Preparation for the Study of Engineering": PROFESSOR HERBERT C. SADLER, PROFESSOR GARDNER S. WILLIAMS, PROFESSOR GEORGE W. PATTERSON, ASSOCIATE DEAN JOSEPH B. DAVIS.

SYMPOSIUM III

"The Value of Latin and Greek as a Preparation for the Study of Law": MERRITT STARR and LYNDEN EVANS of the Chicago Bar; DEAN (now president) H. B. HUTCHINS, HARLOW P. DAVOCK, HINTON E. SPALDING, and LEVI L. BARBOUR, of the Detroit Bar.

SYMPOSIUM IV

"The Value of Humanistic Studies as a Preparation for the Study of Theology": PRESIDENT WILLIAM DOUGLAS MACKENZIE, REV. A. J. NOCK, FRANCIS W. KELSEY, JAMES B. ANGELL.

SYMPOSIUM V

"The Value of Humanistic Studies as a Training for Men of Affairs": JAMES BRYCE, JAMES LOEB, and WILLIAM SLOANE (letters); JOHN W. FOSTER, CHARLES R. WILLIAMS, HARVEY W. WILEY, and JAMES BROWN SCOTT.

SYMPOSIUM VI

"The Classics and the New Education": EDWARD K. RAND, ROBERT M. WENLEY, and PAUL SHOREY.

SYMPOSIUM VII (APPENDIX)

"The Doctrine of Formal Discipline in the Light of Contemporary Psychology": PROFESSOR JAMES ROWLAND ANGELL, the University of Chicago; PROFESSOR W. B. PILLSBURY, University of Michigan, and PROFESSOR CHARLES H. JUDD, the University of Chicago.

The volume will contain about 400 pages, and will be published by the Macmillan Company in March, 1911.

The generosity of a friend of the classics makes it possible for members of the Classical Associations of New England and of the Atlantic States and of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South to provide themselves with copies of the volume, bound in cloth, at a reduced price (the same price at which it will be supplied to members of the Michigan Schoolmasters' Club) provided the remittance is received before publication; after publication the price will be \$1.50. Members of the Associations named who desire the volume are requested to remit eighty-seven cents (\$.87) by postal order to Mr. Louis P. Jocelyn, secretary of the Michigan Schoolmasters' Club, 545 South Division Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan. To all subscribers remitting this amount in advance the volume will be sent, carriage prepaid, as soon as it leaves the press.

Book Reviews

Priene, nach den Ergebnissen der Ausgrabungen der Kgl. preuss. Museen 1895-1898. Rekonstruiert v. A. ZIPPÉLIUS, aquarelliert v. E. WOLFSFELD. Leipzig: Teubner, 1910. M. 7.

In this colored lithograph, intended for use in schools, we have for the first time an authentic picture of an old Greek city. Pictorial restorations, more or less trustworthy, of certain Greek sites have existed before—the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, the sanctuary of Apollo in the midst of the city of Delphi, the acropolis of Athens, and that of Pergamon. But no such restoration was possible for a Greek city as a whole, until the German excavations on the site of Priene in Asia Minor during the years 1895-98 supplied the materials. Thus this picture, prepared with full knowledge of all the available evidence, marks an important step in the progress of our knowledge of Greek antiquity.

To be sure, the Priene which we now know so well is not the Priene of earlier Greek history, but a later foundation, dating in its beginning from perhaps about 340 B.C. Moreover it was always a small place, containing, it is estimated, less than 5,000 inhabitants. But, small though it was, it had all the characteristic features of a city of the later Greek period, and these features were with some exceptions similar to those of such a city as Athens in the fifth century B.C.

The picture is a bird's-eye view. Many interesting things are clearly shown. Thus we see the straight streets crossing one another at right angles, in accordance with that type of city-planning which was first introduced into Europe by Hippodamus of Miletus in laying out the Piræus and which was followed in all later Greek foundations. We see also the lofty acropolis, the wall of fortification, the cemeteries outside the principal gates, the agora, the temple of Athena, dedicated by Alexander the Great, the theater, the gymnasium, and the stadium.

Naturally there are many known facts about Priene which the picture cannot show so clearly or cannot show at all. But it may be made the basis of interesting talks about such matters as the street-paving, the abundant water-supply, the sewers, and above all, the private houses and their furniture. With the help of the illustrated essay by Dr. Th. Wiegand, which comes with the lithograph, it would be possible to prepare a small model of the typical Greek dwelling-house of the fourth century B.C. From what I read in the *Classical Journal* I feel sure that some schools will do this.

F. B. TARBELL

The Universities of Ancient Greece. By JOHN W. H. WALDEN.
New York: Scribners, 1909. Pp. xiv+366. \$1.50 net.

This book gives a vivid picture of the Greek rhetorical and philosophical schools of the first five centuries of our era. The author's conclusions are based upon a careful study of the original sources, but by confining the erudite apparatus of his investigation to footnotes, he has produced a volume that is of value not only to the classical specialist but to all interested in the history of education. With a well-developed faculty for seizing upon the essential points of a narrative and a marked predilection for the human interest he has exploited with rare effectiveness the mine of information contained in the rhetorical treatises of the later Empire.

Anticipating the objection which may be raised to his use of the term "University," that no charters of incorporation were granted them, the author points out that at Alexandria the Museum was a royal foundation, at Constantinople the Capitolium was rigidly organized under the direction of the emperor, and at Athens and Antioch teachers and students formed a recognized body in the community. Moreover, "apart from these more formal aspects of the question, the essential elements of the university, the teachers and students, the spirit of learning, the enthusiasm for intellectual ideals, were present in all these centres."

The first four chapters deal with preliminary matters, including a sketch of education at Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., an analysis of the conditions that obtained during the Macedonian period, and a discussion of the attitude of the state toward education. Without undue emphasis on the parallel it is shown that as early as the fourth century B.C. the educational system was divided into three grades corresponding roughly to our own: the elementary, the secondary, and the college or university instruction. The subjects taught in the elementary school were reading, writing, gymnastics, music, and in some places drawing. In the secondary school the boy came under the direction of the *γραμματικός*, whose instruction covered the fields of grammar, meter, history, morals, etc.; special attention was paid to reading aloud and to speaking. To this grade also belonged the study of geometry and arithmetic. In the college or university period philosophy and rhetoric were the chief subjects. A comparison with the Roman system would have been outside the scope of our author's work, but *mutatis mutandis*, many sections of his description could be applied to the Roman schools, so closely do they seem to have followed their Greek models.

In his picture of the rivalry between philosophy and rhetoric in Greek university centers, Walden traces the steps by which from the days of Aristotle rhetorical studies steadily gained the advantage. Even after the Roman conquest, the policy of the conquerors to abstain as far as possible from interference in the local affairs of Greek municipalities had resulted in a vigorous political life in those communities, and this fact contributed to the interest

in oratory. Students flocked to the schools because it was universally recognized that the oratorical skill which a rhetorical training gave was the most effective instrument for a successful public career.

In regard to the salaries for professors ordained by Antoninus Pius, Walden adopts the view of Zumpt ("Ueber den Bestand d. phil. Schule") that the salaries were to be paid by the municipalities except in cases where the municipalities were unable to do so. In the latter case, the emperor was to pay them.

In his discussion of the social position of the professors, the school houses, the holidays, and student customs and traditions the author has drawn many parallels with the college life of our own time. He has illustrated this part of his book by copious quotations from the writings of the sophists, especially from the letters and speeches of Libanius, whose pages abound in interesting details of academic life in Athens, Constantinople, and Antioch. On all subjects connected with the college or university career—from the hazing of a Freshman to the efforts of a professor to secure an increase in salary—Libanius speaks with the authority of one who knows.

For the details of the courses pursued in the schools of sophistry the principal source used is Theon's *Progymnasmata*, and emphasis is rightly laid on the fact (p. 203) that in him we have our most valuable source of information on the subject. Several recent treatises on ancient education would have accomplished their purpose more effectually if their authors had studied Theon as carefully as they studied Quintilian.

G. J. LAING

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Six Greek Sculptors. By ERNEST A. GARDNER. London: Duckworth & Co.; New York: Scribners, 1910. Pp. xvi+260. 81 plates. \$2.00.

A new book on Greek sculpture from the hand of Professor E. A. Gardner is a welcome addition to our literature on the subject. His *Handbook of Greek Sculpture* has been, since its publication in 1897, the chief up-to-date source on the subject for English readers. The present volume belongs to a publishers' series, the same in which Mrs. Eugenie Sellers Strong's book on *Roman Sculpture* was published in 1907. It is not a history of Greek sculpture, but is intended, in the words of the Preface, for those "who desire to supplement what general outlines of this history they may have learnt by a more vivid realization and appreciation of the work of the leading artists." The main discussion is preceded, however, by both a general introduction on the "Characteristics of Greek Sculpture" and by a chapter on "Early Masterpieces," and is followed by a chapter on "Hellenistic Sculpture." These chapters, like the rest of the book, though the treatment is chronological, are not primarily historical, and one need not be disappointed that neither the Aegina nor

the Olympia sculptures appear among the plates illustrating the early sculptures, and that there is no illustration nor mention of the Aphrodite of Melos in the last chapter. A certain knowledge is thus presupposed on the part of the reader, as is shown also in the fact that the provenience and present whereabouts of the examples used are not given, as a rule, either in the text or in the list of illustrations, and that there is mention of "the tale about the Eros and Aphrodite" of Praxiteles without indicating what it was. The book may be characterized as "an appreciation of Greek sculpture," a field cultivated in this country by Edmund von Mach, and is distinctly successful in setting forth the received spirit and style of each of the masters. After a study of the chapter on Scopas, for example, the reader can hardly fail to recognize the Scopasian characteristics wherever they appear later.

If Professor Gardner was tempted to quote what he had already written in his *Handbook* he persistently resisted the temptation. The thirty-six pages on Praxiteles are fresh and up to date and have no marks of the *Handbook* in their phraseology. The account taken of new material in these chapters is indicated by the first sentence in the chapter on Lysippus: "If our information as to Scopas has been considerably supplemented by recent discoveries, in the case of Lysippus the new evidence has been revolutionary in character." The statue of the pancratis Agias, found at Delphi, is given the first place as a means of determining the character of the work of Lysippus. On account of the importance thus attached to the Agias it is made the frontispiece to the book. One questions why this replica should be labeled "by Lysippus" and would like to have the frontispiece referred to for illustration from the text. The treatment of the "Lemnian Athena" also indicates the open-mindedness of the author in that, while he still justifies the dissenting voices, he no longer relegates Furtwängler's identification to a footnote.

The illustrations are all full-page half-tone plates and printed on one side of the paper only. One must be prepared for long paragraphs, as long, for example, as six and one-half pages. There is almost an entire absence of footnotes, the purpose being to present not data but principles. A brief bibliography is given, in which no American name appears but that of E. von Mach, and that only for the collection of illustrations.

W. S. EBERSOLE

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Editorial

EFFICIENCY IN CLASSICAL TEACHING

A Boston lawyer has been having fun with the railroad presidents in expounding to them the mysteries of the new profession, that of the "efficiency engineer," and telling them how they can convert their deficit into a surplus. Certainly what the efficiency engineer has accomplished is astonishing. But what if Lawyer Brandeis should proceed to apply his efficiency test to the work of the teachers? True, their results are less tangible, and they are measured by other standards than those of Mr. Brandeis' bricklayers and machinists, but definite results there are, and there are methods of testing them. Probably under such a scrutiny the classical teachers would fare as well as any of their colleagues and better than many; but such comparison forms a mean standard for any profession. The question for the classical teacher is whether he is working with definite aims and economy of effort, and whether his results are actually those that he himself and the public assume.

Any man must come from the reading of Paul Shorey's recent brilliant argument on "The Case of the Classics" (*School Review*, November, 1910) with a deepened sense of the opportunity and the obligation of the classical teacher. One of the most incisive of Professor Shorey's arguments is that in which he urges the scientist to realize that he ought to make common cause with the classicist. He says:

Whatever the grievances of the past, present attacks on the classics are inspired by the revolt against discipline and hard work, the impatience of all serious pre-vocational studies, the demand for quick utilitarian results, and absorption in the up-to-date. Our scientific colleagues who invoke these sentiments against us will find that they are playing with fire, and enlisting allies whom they cannot control. . . . The boy whom they have encouraged to shirk the discipline of Latin will find mathematics and physics still more irksome. The professional constituency of engineers and chemical experts they will retain. But the majority will go snap hunting in the happy fields

of English literature and the social sciences. Let not our scientific colleagues deceive themselves. They are more allied to us by the severity and definiteness of their discipline than divided by differences of matter and method.

Severity and definiteness of discipline are, then, according to Professor Shorey, distinguishing qualities common to classical and scientific studies. If that is true—and who will question its truth?—it behooves the classical teacher, quite in the spirit of the efficiency engineer, though with different methods and standards, to try to determine whether the discipline that his own students are receiving is definite and whether it is severe. The fact that it is classical does not guarantee either definiteness or severity. In fact the very richness and variety of the classical discipline make it peculiarly difficult after the first years to work toward definite ends. The teacher of science who is on a given day treating of chlorine or of alternating currents has at least definiteness of subject prescribed for him. Not so the classical teacher. Read Professor Shorey's delightful description of an hour in the classical lecture-room:

The good teacher will almost in the same breath translate a great poetic sentence, bring out its relations to the whole of which it is a part, make its musical rhythm felt by appropriate declamation, explain a historical or an antiquarian allusion, call attention to a dialectic form, put a question about a peculiar use of the optative, compare the imagery with similar figures of speech in ancient and modern poetry, and use the whole as a text for a little discourse on the difference between the classical and the modern or romantic spirit; so that you shall not know whether he is teaching science or art, language or literature, grammar, rhetoric, psychology, or sociology, because he is really teaching the elements and indispensable prerequisites of all.

If under such conditions definiteness of aim is difficult of attainment, it is equally true that classical studies do not of themselves insure severity of discipline. Professor Shorey would have the coming generation "set to gnaw the file of Latin grammar for a year or two." But a good many teachers of Latin and Greek are assuming that their pupils are gnawing the file when in fact they are sucking their thumbs. A bright young graduate gives in a volume of school reminiscences this suggestive memory of his own classical labors: "The love you feel for your chum, who puts his arm about your shoulders and says, 'Come on, old man, let's plug the Virgil; you read the trot and I'll work the original.'" If Professor Shorey's article shall not only confound the Philistines, but quicken the classical teachers themselves to a keener appreciation of their opportunities, and a more unsparing criticism of their own results, he will have done double service.

FERRERO'S TREATMENT OF THE FIRST BOOK OF CAESAR'S GALLIC WAR¹

BY HARRY E. BURTON
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It is our habit to regard Caesar's account of his campaigns in Gaul as a model of simplicity—as a straightforward narrative of what actually happened. The simplicity of its style has been a guarantee of the frankness and honesty of the writer. And as we have read with our youthful students the story of Caesar's marches and battles, his statements of motive, of cause, of effect, we have not found it necessary to analyze, to separate the probable from the improbable—we have not found it necessary to question the knowledge or the honest purpose of the writer.

Now comes Ferrero and tells us that the first book of the *Commentaries* is obscure and misleading, that it does not describe the real situation in Gaul or state what actually happened, and that these defects are in a way intentional; for, as he believes, Caesar, when he wrote the book, was trying to conceal the ignorance in which he had begun his career in Gaul, was trying to conceal the failure and unfortunate results of his first campaign. After reading Ferrero's chapter and the Appendix on the same subject, you have a feeling that the *Commentaries* are adapted to the graduate school rather than to immature children with slight knowledge of Latin.

The main points in Ferrero's hypothesis—I will not call it an argument, for it is almost entirely devoid of anything sufficiently specific to be called evidence—are as follows:

1. That Caesar at the beginning of his campaigns had little knowledge of Gaul and its inhabitants.
2. That there were in the various Gallic states two political parties, one Conservative and not averse to alliance with Rome, the other National.

¹ A paper read before the Classical Conference at Dartmouth College, May 21, 1910.

3. That for several years before Caesar's proconsulship the Gauls had been planning to drive Ariovistus and his Germans out of Gaul; that the Conservative party, led by Divitiacus, the Aeduan, hoped to accomplish this through the assistance of Rome; that the National party, led by Dumnorix, the brother of Divitiacus, would accomplish the same thing through the assistance of the Helvetians; that this was the purpose of the migration of the Helvetians.

4. That the final battle with the Helvetians was a real defeat for Caesar.

5. That Caesar undertook the war against Ariovistus in order to regain the popularity in Gaul which he had lost by his persistent and unnecessary attack upon the Helvetians, the champions of the National party.

I will consider these five points in the order in which they have been mentioned.

The first two points, I may say in advance, are in a way preliminary to the third, and yet their value as evidence depends upon the acceptance or rejection of the third. That is, if 1 and 2 are true, 3 may be true, but if 3 is not true, then there is no evidence of the truth of 1 and 2.

First, Caesar's ignorance of Gaul and of political conditions in Gaul: Ferrero goes so far as to say that Caesar had read no books and consulted no merchants on the subject. The only specific proof appears to be the fact that there was only one legion in Gaul when the Helvetians began their migration and that Caesar was thus temporarily embarrassed. In this situation there appears to me to be nothing especially significant, nothing to indicate ignorance on the part of Caesar. For two years the Helvetians had been preparing to move, and it was not the Roman custom of that time to keep a large army on the border with a view to possible attacks. Furthermore, it is doubtful if, before Caesar's arrival in Gaul, the Romans had any idea of preventing the migration of the Helvetians. So long as they did not invade the province, there was no reason why the Helvetians should not go where they pleased. Outside the province the Romans had

official relations only with the Aeduans, and would certainly not have thought it necessary to maintain a large army in Gaul in order to protect the Aeduans. The small force in Gaul, therefore, does not seem to indicate ignorance on the part of the Romans or of Caesar himself.

But Ferrero evidently bases his idea of Caesar's ignorance chiefly upon his own main contention that the Helvetian migration was urged by the Gauls and was really the beginning of an attack upon Ariovistus. If that was the purpose of the Helvetian migration and Caesar did not know it, then he certainly was ignorant of Gallic affairs. To this point I shall return presently.

It is true that Caesar did not know the political situation among the Aeduans. He admits his ignorance in that respect frankly and fully, and his frankness at that point is an assurance that he is not concealing ignorance at other points.

On the mere ground of probability it is to me inconceivable that Caesar was ignorant of the situation in Gaul. There was constant communication between the province and the capital, and those in authority must have kept themselves informed. Cicero writing to Atticus on March 15, 60 B.C. (*Att.* i. 19. 1) says that there is great anxiety in Rome about the Helvetian plans; that the senate has decided to have the consuls draw lots for the two Gauls; that levies are to be raised and exemptions suspended; and that ambassadors are to be sent to the various Gallic states to detach them from the Helvetians. If there was a definitely established rivalry between two political parties in the various states, it would have been a matter of common talk in the city; and if one of those parties had sought the help of the Helvetians and the Helvetians had planned to destroy their towns and move several hundred thousand people into Gaul for the purpose of joining in a general attack upon Ariovistus, it seems to me that Caesar would have known not only the plan, but at least the most important circumstances connected with it.

The second point is the existence of two political parties in the Gallic states, one composed of the nobility, the other of the common people led by a few men of wealth and of noble family. This idea is based upon Caesar's statement in Book VI, chap. xi, and

may be regarded as correct. That is, there were factions in the other states like those among the Aeduans described in the first book. One party Ferrero calls Conservative, the other Nationalist. As to the existence of these factions, it is easy to agree with him, but when he goes on to assume that the Conservatives of one state were in league with those of the others, and that the Nationalists were in league with the Nationalists, it is impossible to follow him. It is true that there were two leagues in Gaul, as we learn from Book I, chap. xxxi, but these leagues were composed of whole states, not of factions within states. And even assuming that the nobility of one state was in sympathy with that of the others, and the common people with the common people of others, it is hardly conceivable, when the states were so little united and were so jealous of one another, that the groups of the nobility in the various states would have banded together to accomplish a great national object by one method, while the leaders of the common people in the various states were getting together to accomplish the same object by another method.

The third point is the chief one in Ferrero's contention. He claims that the object of the Helvetian migration was to help the Gauls to drive Ariovistus and his Germans from the country of the Sequani, where they had settled, back across the Rhine into Germany; that the migration was brought about chiefly through the efforts of Dumnorix, the Aeduan, but that the national party which existed in all the Gallic states was cognizant of the purpose of the migration and regarded the Helvetians as the champions of Gaul.

The chronological sequence of events, according to Ferrero's theory, may be stated as follows: When Divitiacus went to Rome in 61 B.C. he was seeking Roman aid against Ariovistus. Soon after this, the Helvetians, through the efforts of Dumnorix, who represented the National party of Gaul, began their preparations for a migration, the real object of which was a combined attack of all the Gauls upon Ariovistus. That is, the Nationalists based their hopes and ambitions upon the Helvetians, as Divitiacus and his party based theirs upon the Romans. Among the Helvetians Orgetorix was the man intrusted with the execution of the plan.

In 59 B.C., the year of Caesar's consulship, Ariovistus became alarmed at the preparations of the Helvetians, appealed to Rome, and at his urgent request was declared a friend and ally of the Roman people. The situation, therefore, according to Ferrero, was this: The Conservatives of Gaul were afraid of the Helvetians because they represented a rival party and because they might make themselves the masters of all Gaul; Ariovistus was afraid of the Helvetians because he knew that the real purpose of their movement was against himself; and, finally, the Romans were afraid of the Helvetians because they were assured both by Divitiacus and by Ariovistus that the Helvetians were going to establish a great Gallic empire; furthermore the Romans remembered the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones and recalled that in 107 B.C. these very Helvetians had defeated a Roman army and killed a Roman consul. This situation explains the curious inconsistency of a Roman alliance with the Aeduans on the one hand, and with their enemies, the Germans, on the other.

This is Ferrero's ingeniously constructed theory. It is not based to any extent upon statements of Caesar or any other ancient writer. It is a somewhat complicated network of what he regards as probabilities woven about the situation as it is described by Caesar. Such passages from Caesar and other writers as are used for evidence are handled with much freedom. For example, much stress is laid upon certain passages in Caesar and Cicero relating to the mission of Divitiacus at Rome. Caesar says in chap. *xxxi* that the senate directed the governor of Gaul to defend the Aeduans and the other friends of the Roman people. The Germans are not mentioned. Ferrero's statement that the decree authorized the Aeduans to apply to the governor for the support of his legions against Ariovistus is therefore hardly justified. It is true also that Ariovistus sought alliance with Rome in 60 and 59, but the purpose of this alliance is nowhere stated. Ferrero's idea that he was alarmed about the Helvetian migration is therefore a pure assumption. The only argument that is sufficiently specific to be discussed as a concrete piece of evidence is based upon the fact that Dumnorix, the Aeduan, had conspired with the Helvetians and, as cavalry commander in Caesar's army, had allowed the Helvetians

to win a victory over him. Here, as elsewhere, it may be said incidentally, Ferrero is guilty of exaggeration, for he declares that Dumnorix came in person to the Roman camp and offered to pay the expenses of the Aeduan cavalry on condition that he himself should be placed in command; there appears to be no authority for this statement; he says, moreover, that the Aeduan cavalry in Caesar's army was defeated with suspicious regularity; as a matter of fact, it was defeated only once. In this case the exaggeration is of slight importance. The argument is a fair one and is the nucleus about which the whole theory is woven. The weak point is the fact that in Caesar's treatment of the episode and in all that he says about Dumnorix, he says nothing whatever about the Germans. Dumnorix is a friend of the Helvetians because he has conspired with the Helvetian leader, Orgetorix, and because he has a Helvetian wife; he is an enemy of the Romans because they are allied with the other party in his state, at the head of which is his brother Divitiacus. Ferrero gets over this difficulty by his claim that at the beginning of his Gallic campaign Caesar was ignorant of the situation, and that when he wrote the *Commentaries* in 52 B.C. he strove to conceal his former ignorance. He had to justify his attack upon the Helvetians and did so by insisting that they were going to establish a Gallic empire which would be dangerous to Roman interests in Gaul. I have already pointed out in a general way how difficult it is to believe that Caesar was ignorant of the situation. But even assuming that at the outset he did not know the ultimate purpose of the Helvetian migration, not only did he himself know it in 52 B.C., when the *Commentaries* were written, but all his readers knew it. Can we possibly believe that at that time he would have deliberately omitted such an important fact as an alliance of the Gallic states against Ariovistus, and would he have said only that the Helvetians were going to establish a Gallic empire, when his readers would know that their real purpose was to take part in the war against Ariovistus? Caesar does not hesitate to confess his ignorance or his mistakes. In chaps. xvi to xx he describes the Dumnorix episode with almost unnecessary fulness and practically admits that he had hitherto been ignorant of the political situation among the Aeduans

and had been completely deceived by Dumnorix. It seems to me, therefore, that we may assume that, writing in 52 B.C., Caesar not only knew the facts, but told all that he regarded as essential.

From various statements of Caesar, the truth of which even Ferrero does not question, it seems to me very clear that the Helvetians were simply migrating—that they were not planning to take part in a general attack upon Ariovistus. In the first place, if such an attack was being planned, why was it necessary for them to migrate at all? Why was it necessary for them to burn their homes and move a multitude of women and children, and why did they travel so far to the west, ultimately offering to settle wherever Caesar should direct (xiii. 3)? Would it not have been a more natural proceeding for the fighting men of the Helvetians to hold themselves in readiness, and then, at the appointed time, crossing into the country of the Sequani, to attack Ariovistus from the south, while the Aeduians and the other Gallic states made their attack from the west and north?

In chap. xi we find the Helvetians plundering the fields of the Aeduians, the Ambarri, and the Allobroges. The Allobroges even complain that the Helvetians have left them nothing but the soil of their fields. This treatment of the Gauls is mentioned again in xiv. 3 and xiv. 6. It is hard to believe that the Helvetians would have been quite so strenuous if they had come at the invitation of the Gauls. Is it possible that they would have plundered their friends and allies so mercilessly? Might we not even suppose that supplies would have been furnished along the line of march?

The apparently aimless course of the expedition is itself suggestive of a migration of a people seeking a new home, with no definitely preconceived notion of where it is to be. If the Aeduians and others had planned this movement, they certainly would have decided upon some definite location and would probably have helped the Helvetians to proceed to their destination as quickly as possible. As it was, the Helvetians first had an idea that they would go through the Roman province; when Caesar refused permission, they made a half-hearted attempt to force a passage

and then, through the intercession of Dumnorix, got permission to go through the country of the Sequani. Caesar is informed (x. 1; xi. 6) that the Helvetians are going to settle in the country of the Santones on the western coast. This may or may not have been their intention. A little later (xiii. 3) an embassy from the Helvetians informs Caesar that if the Romans will only let them alone, they will go and stay wherever Caesar wishes. After crossing the Saone, it appears that the expedition moved almost directly north to the neighborhood of the town of Bibracte, certainly not in the direction of the Santones. After the battle the 130,000 survivors moved off toward the northeast in the direction of the Lingones (xxvi. 5). Soon afterward their supplies ran out and they offered to surrender (xxvii. 1). With the exception of the Dumnorix episode, there is not a word in all these chapters to indicate friendly relations between the Helvetians and the Gauls. There is moreover not a word to indicate that the movement was anything more than a migration. If there had been anything like a mutual agreement, it would certainly have betrayed itself somewhere, and it would have been a thing that Caesar would have had no reason to conceal. Whatever may have been the explanation of the friendly feeling of Dumnorix for the Helvetians, it seems pretty clear that no one else in Gaul regarded them as anything but intruders and enemies.

My own conclusion regarding the movement of the Helvetians may be stated as follows: Orgetorix planned the migration with the purpose of establishing a Helvetian supremacy in Gaul. In order to carry out his plan, it was necessary that he and his supporters should be in control; this is the conspiracy of chap. ii. It was also advisable to establish friendly relations with neighboring states, especially the Sequani and the Aeduans, so that the expedition might not have to fight its way at the very start. The negotiations with Dumnorix, the Aeduan, were particularly successful. Then the personal ambition of Orgetorix was discovered, and he disappears from the scene. The Helvetians, in spite of his death, continue their plans for a migration. Whether they still thought of establishing a Helvetian supremacy in Gaul it is impossible to say. The Gauls were afraid of this and their com-

plaints were enough to justify Caesar's attack, even had he not been under obligation to protect the Roman province.

The fourth point in Ferrero's hypothesis is this, that the battle with the Helvetians was not a glorious victory, as Caesar claims, but an actual defeat. He calls attention to the fact that Caesar took no prisoners; that the Helvetians continued their march the same night, while Caesar had to stay on the battlefield for three days on account of the large number of dead and wounded. Caesar's account of the battle, he says, is confused and unsatisfactory.

In the first place, Ferrero's statement that Caesar claims a glorious victory is a pure fiction of his vivid imagination. Twice Caesar uses the phrase *se recipere*, the enemy withdrew, and he says that his troops took possession of the enemy's camp and baggage. He admits that he had to postpone pursuit for three days in order to care for the wounded and bury the dead. There is not a suggestion that he took any pride in his victory, if it may be called that, or regarded it as a serious defeat for the Helvetians. As to Ferrero's statement that Caesar took no prisoners, he did at least take the daughter of Orgetorix and one of his sons, and it is probable that he took many others. In the account of his battle with Ariovistus, Caesar mentions no prisoners, except one of the daughters of Ariovistus, and no one doubts the completeness of that victory. As to the statement that the Helvetians were able to continue their march immediately, while Caesar had to remain on the field for three days, this very fact proves that Caesar won at least a nominal victory, for it is the defeated army, not the victorious one, that withdraws, and often without waiting to care for its wounded or bury its dead. That was what happened, for example, after the battle of the Trebia in the Second Punic War (Liv. 21. 56. 9). The fact that the Helvetians voluntarily submitted soon after the battle makes it pretty clear that they must have suffered very great loss either by death or capture in the battle.

In regard to this battle, therefore, it appears that Ferrero has invented Caesar's claim to a glorious victory, has overlooked Caesar's reference to captives, and finally has interpreted in a

manner contrary to all reason the fact that the Helvetians withdrew while Caesar remained on the field of battle. The whole description makes it perfectly clear that the battle was hard-fought and close, that the Helvetians finally withdrew, and that Caesar claims no great advantage for his own troops.

As to Ferrero's statement that Caesar's account of the battle is confused and contradictory, I shall not discuss in detail the movements of his troops. It is true that Caesar neglects to tell us what became of his two new legions which he had stationed on the top of the hill and that he does not explain why the Helvetians did not come to the aid of their allies, the Boii and Tulingi, who were defending their camp. This sort of omission is common enough in ancient descriptions of battles, as, for example, in Livy's account of the battle of Cannae, and does not necessarily signify that the writer is trying to conceal something.

Finally I will consider briefly Ferrero's idea that Caesar undertook the war against Ariovistus in order to regain his lost popularity in Gaul. It is perhaps hardly necessary to do this after giving what seems to me convincing evidence of the unfriendly attitude of the Gauls toward the Helvetian invaders. If that was their attitude, then Caesar must have won great popularity by his persistent pursuit of the Helvetians. Ferrero says that Caesar's campaign against the Helvetians was so unpopular in Gaul that the Roman party did not dare to inform him who his strange cavalry commander—namely Dumnorix—really was. Here again he makes the situation among the Aeduans serve for all Gaul. In Caesar's own account of the war with Ariovistus Ferrero finds no sufficient explanation of Caesar's motive in undertaking the war and, as usual, suspects a mystery and looks underneath for a motive. To my mind chap. xxxiii is entirely sufficient. There Caesar first speaks of the Roman alliance with the Aeduans and then expresses the opinion that the increasing power of the Germans would be a growing menace to the Roman Province and ultimately to Italy itself. In answer to the objection that the Romans had an alliance also with Ariovistus, I may quote a passage from Ferrero himself:

"He intended, so far as possible, to apply to Gaul the methods of Lucullus and Pompey in Asia, to let slip no real or imaginary pretext for military opera-

tions, to acquire the riches and reputation so easily picked up in the provinces, to demonstrate to his fellow-citizens that he was a skilful diplomatist and a brilliant general."

Here was the real reason, which Ferrero is willing to accept for the Helvetian campaign, but quite forgets when he comes to explain the campaign against Ariovistus.

It is hardly necessary for me to express a general opinion of Ferrero's treatment of this subject. As an effort of the imagination it is marvelous; as an argument, as history, it is utterly worthless. The foundation is so weak, the superstructure is so ponderous, that the whole mass topples at the slightest touch.

HORACE, PERSON AND POET

BY GRANT SHOWERMAN
The University of Wisconsin

I

Rotund, yet remarkable for slight stature among even a slight-statured race; his black hair more than evenly mingled with gray; the naturally dark and not too finely textured skin of face and expansive forehead deepened to vigorous brown by the friendly suns and breezes of both city and country; feature and eye holding the mirror up to a spirit quick to anger but plenteous in good-nature:

Corporis exigui, praecanum, solibus aptum,
Irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis;—

altogether, a short, round man, smiling but serious, of no great refinement either of appearance or manner, with a look of the plain citizen—Horace is of all the ancients the least difficult to visualize.

He is gossip to elegant Maecenas in a carriage, or sits with him at the shows; enjoys with literary friends the hospitable shade of huge pine and white poplar on the sod of some rose-perfumed Italian garden with noisy fountain and hurrying stream; loiters, with eyes bent upon the pavement, along the Sacred Way, or struggles against the crowd on its way down town amid the dust and din of the busy city; shrugs his shoulders in good-humored despair at the sirocco, or sits huddled up and shivering with the tramontana in some village on the coast, reading and waiting for the first swallow to tell of the spring.

He plays a mild game of tennis on the Campus; delights at evening in bohemian excursions among the nameless *popolo basso*, and engages in small talk with dealers in small merchandise; looks in upon a party of carousing friends, with banter that is half reproof; is lionized in the homes of the first men of the city in peace and war, and mystifies the not too intellectual fair guests with graceful but provokingly unimpassioned gallantry; sits with

still greater enjoyment in the thick shade of his own arbor; appears in the midst of a household bustling with elaborate preparation for the birthday feast of a friend, or with more unrestrained joy welcomes at a less formal board the beloved comrade in arms of Philippi, prolonging the genial intercourse

Dum rediens fugat astra Phoebus—

Till Phoebus the red East unbars
And puts to rout the trembling stars.

Or, he rides an indifferent horse down the Appian Way toward the Alban Mount and dark green Algidus, or up the winding white road to sloping Tivoli, and beyond, along the banks of headlong Anio; stands in tunic-sleeves in the morning sun at his doorway on the Sabine farm, contemplating with thankful heart valley and hillside opposite, and cool Digentia below; rambles about the wooded uplands of his small estate, resting behind a rotting fane of the countryside to indite a letter to the friend whose absence seems for the moment the only ground in the world for anything less than perfect happiness; participates with the near-by villagers in the joys of the rural holiday; or mingles homely philosophy and fiction with rustic neighbors before his own hearth in the big living-room of the farm house.

Horace's place is not among the dim and uncertain figures of a hoary antiquity. Alter one or two details—give him an Italian mantle, modern shoes, and a walking-stick, instead of sandals and toga—and you may see him on the streets of almost any city of modern Italy. Nor is he less modern in bearing and character than in mere personal appearance: the same strange and seemingly contradictory blend of the grave and gay, the lively and severe, the constant and the mercurial, the austere and the trivial, the dignified and the careless, which is so baffling to the observer of Italian character and conduct today.

II

To see beneath this rather commonplace though engaging exterior and to understand how Horace came to be a great poet as well as a genial personality—to discern the spiritual Horace—requires somewhat greater effort.

Good poetry, like all other good art, has its foundations deep in vital experience. Art is the translation into visible or audible form of the emotional experience of men; a crystallization or precipitation of the spiritual element in human existence. The poet lives life abundantly. His own experience, together with the experience of his own race and his own time, are somehow fused and blended into a homogeneous whole, to which the divine gift—most mysterious of all factors in his make-up—inspires him to give beautiful expression.

For abundance of stirring and fertilizing experience, history presents few parallels to the times during which Horace lived. The days of his years fell in an age which was in continual travail with great and uncertain movement. Never has Fortune taken greater delight in her bitter and insolent game, never displayed greater pertinacity. In the period from Horace's birth in 65 B.C. to 8 B.C., when

Mourned of men and Muses nine
They laid him on the Esquiline,

there occurred the consulship of Cicero and the excitement of the Catilinarian movement; the coalition of Caesar, Crassus, and Pompeius; the exile of Cicero; the Gallic conquest; the defeat and death of Crassus at Carrhae; the defiance of the Senate by Caesar, and the civil war; the assassination of the dictator and the bloody measures of Antonius; the rise of Octavian, the overthrow of the Ciceronian party, and the cruel proscription under the second triumvirate; Philippi, the Perusine war, the tedious and uncertain struggle with Sextus Pompeius, and the long-drawn-out difficulties with the Antonians at home and abroad which were finally brought to an end at Actium; the slow in-gathering of power by Augustus into his own hands, and the employment by the ruler of all the friendly talent he could summon to his aid—whether civil, military, commercial, diplomatic, or aesthetic—in the vast and discouraging task of setting in order the house which for centuries had been gravitating into a state of more and more hopeless disorder.

We are at an immense distance, and the differences are now composed; the menacing murmur of trumpets—*minaci murmure cornuum*—is no longer audible, and the seas are no longer ruddy

with blood. The picture is old, and faded, and obscure, and leaves us cold, until we illumine it with the light of imagination. Then first we see, or feel, the immensity of the time: its hatreds and its selfishness; its differences of opinion, sometimes honest and sometimes dishonest, but always passionate; its division of friends and families; its lawlessness and violence, its terrifying uncertainties and adventurous plunges; its tragedies of confiscation, murder, fire, proscription, feud, insurrection, riot, war; the dramatic exits of the leading actors in the play—of Catiline at Pistoria, Crassus at Carrhae, Clodius at Bovillae, Pompeius in Egypt, Cato in Africa, Caesar, Servius Sulpicius, Marcellus, Trebonius and Dolabella, Hirtius and Pansa, Decimus Brutus, the Ciceros, Brutus and Cassius, Sextus Pompeius, Antony and Cleopatra—as one after another

Strutted and fretted his hour upon the stage
And then was heard no more.

It is with some such background as this that Horace's invocation to Fortune should be read—the goddess who could change the triumphal chariot to the funeral car:

O diva, gratum quae regis Antium,
Praesens vel imo tollere de gradu
Mortale corpus vel superbos
Vertere funeribus triumphos;

and that other exquisite expression of the inscrutable uncertainty of life:

Fortuna, saevo laeta negotio et
Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax,
Transmutat incertos honores,
Nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna.

There is nothing here of the idle singer of an empty day. The poet's utterance may be a universal, but it is no commonplace. It is one of the eloquent records of the life of Rome in an age which for intensity is unparalleled in the history of the city.

And yet many men live a longer span of years than fell to the lot of Horace, and in times no less pregnant with event, without coming into really intimate contact with many sides of life.

It was not so with Horace. His experience was comprehensive: he touched the life of his generation at many points. Born in a small country town in a province distant from the capital; his father at one time a slave, and always of humble spirit and calling; educated at first among the sons of the "great" centurions who constituted *the* society of Venusia; ambitiously taken to Rome to acquire the accomplishments usual among even the sons of senators; the constant companion of a sympathetic father of robust common-sense and exemplary character; finally sent to Athens, garner of the wisdom of the ages, where the learning of the past was constantly revived by teachers possessing the quick Athenian spirit of telling or hearing new things—his intellectual experience was of the broadest. Into it there entered and blended the shrewd practical understanding of the Italian *bourgeoisie*; the ornamental accomplishments of middle- and upper-class training; the inspiration of Rome's history, with its long line of heroic figures; broadening first-hand knowledge of prominent men of action and letters; unceasing discussion of questions of the day which insisted on being considered, and by everybody; and, finally, humanizing contact on their own soil with Greek poetry and philosophy, Greek monuments and history, and with teachers who were racial as well as intellectual descendants of the greatest people of the past. All this no doubt could have fallen, and did fall, to the portion of many a young man of greater apparent promise than Horace. Most of it did fall, for example, to the portion of young Marcus Cicero, whom he may have known at Athens.

But Horace's experience assumes still greater proportions: he passes from the university of Athens to the greater university of life. The death of Caesar and the arrival at Athens of an idealized Brutus stir his young blood. He joins the army of the liberators, is made a commissioned officer, feels the hardship of the tedious campaign, and enriches his life with new friendships formed under such circumstances as have for all time cemented the friendly bond; sees the disastrous day of Philippi, narrowly escapes death by shipwreck, and returns to Rome to find himself alone, without father or fortune.

Then an interval of diminishing bitterness, during which his

philosophic mind is no doubt busy with reflection upon the disparity between the ideals of the liberators and the results of their actions, upon the difference between the disorganized Rome of the civil war and the gradually knitting Rome of Augustus, and upon the futility of presuming to judge of the righteousness of either motives or means in a world where men, to say nothing of understanding each other, cannot understand themselves—and he accepts the inevitable.

He goes farther than acquiescence. The growing national conviction that Augustus is the hope of Rome finds lodgment in his mind also. He gravitates from negative to positive. He even applies for and obtains that in every age much-coveted boon of the young Italian, a government position—salary, safety, perfect respectability, a considerable dignity, and a degree of leisure.

He makes wise use of the leisure. Still in the after-glow of his Athenian experience, he writes, and attracts attention among a limited circle of associates; the personal qualities which made him favorite with the leaders of the republican army serve him well here also; he wins the recognition and the favor of men who have the ear of those higher up; an appreciative statesman, prompted by a politic ruler, makes him independent of money-getting, and gives him currency among the foremost literary men of the city. He triumphs over the social prejudice against the son of a freedman, disarms literary jealousy, and is assured of both favor and fame.

Nor was Horace's experience with the world of action here at an end. If his actual participation in civil and military life did cease with the gift of the Sabine estate, and if he never pretended *in propria persona* to live the life of the highborn and wealthy, he nevertheless associated on intimate terms with men through whom he felt all the activities and ideals of the class which was most representative of the national life, and his past experience and natural adaptability enabled him to assimilate their life.

Thanks to the glowing personal nature of Horace's works—there are few of them not addressed to men with whom he was on terms of more than ordinary friendship—we may know who many of these friends and patrons were who so enlarged his vision and contributed to his inspiration. They were rare men—fit audience,

though few—men of experience in affairs at home and in the field, men of natural taste and real cultivation, of broad and sane views, of deep sympathies and warm heart. There was Virgil, the half of Horace's own spirit; there were Plotius, and Varius, bird of Maeonian song, whom he ranked with the singer of the *Aeneid* himself as the most resplendently pure of souls on earth; there was Quintilius, wept by many good men—when would incorruptible Faith and Truth ever find his equal?—there was Maecenas, worldly-wise and cultivated, the pillar and ornament of his fortunes; Septimius, the hoped-for companion of his mellow old age in the little corner of earth that smiled on him beyond all others; Iccius, procurator of Agrippa's estates in Sicily, sharing Horace's delight in philosophy; Trebatius, sometime friend of Cicero and Caesar, with dry legal humor seasoned in the wilds of Gaul; Pompeius and Corvinus, old soldier friends with whom he exchanged reminiscences of the hard campaign; Julius Florus, and other members of the ambitious literary cohort in the train of Tiberius; Aristius Fuscus, the watch of whose wit was ever wound and ready to strike; Agrippa, grave hero of battles and diplomacy; and Augustus himself, the busy administrator of a world, who still found time for letters.

It is through the medium of such personalities as these that Horace's message was delivered to the world of his time, and to the later generations of the world of literature. In how great part the finished elegance of his expression is due to their discriminating taste, and how much of the breadth and sanity of his content is due to their vigor of character and cosmopolitan culture, may be only conjectured. It takes two to beget art; the responsive audience is hardly less indispensable than the inspiration of the poet.

Such were the variety and abundance of Horace's life experience. It was large and human. He had touched life high and low, bond and free, public and private, military and civil, provincial and urban, Hellenic, Asiatic, and Italian, in the country and in the city, ideal and practical, at the cultured court and among the ignorant multitude.

If plentiful experience, however, were all that entered into the making of poets, there would have been many Horaces instead of one, rare as Horace's life really was in breadth and depth. But abundance of men possessed of experience as wide have died without being poets, or even wise men. Their experience was held in solution, so to speak, and failed to precipitate.

Horace's experience did precipitate, Nature gave him the warm and responsive soul that made it possible for him to become part of all he met. Unlike most of his associates among the upper classes to which he rose, his sympathy could include the freedman, the rustic, and the common soldier; unlike most of the common people from whom he sprang, he could extend his sympathy to the careworn rich and the troubled autocrat. He had learned from experience and observation that no life was wholly happy; that the cares of the so-called fortunate were only different from, not less real than, those of the ordinary man; that every human heart had its chamber furnished forth for the entertainment of *Atra Cura*, and was never without its guest.

But not even the precipitate of experience called wisdom will alone make the poet. Horace was endowed by nature with another and a rarer gift—the sense of artistic expression. How much he owed to inspiration, how much to his own laborious patience, and how much to the good fortune of large experience is as impossible of calculation as in the case of most other poets. His heart is surely to be classed among those which have come into the world pregnant with celestial fire. The poet *is* born. We may account for the poetic faculty in Horace by the attribution of Hellenic descent (as if Italy had never begotten poets of her own), but the mystery remains. Remove from his case, or that of any other real poet, every influence of purely mundane character, and there is always a residuum which can be accounted for only on the ground of native talent—*vis insita*. It was the possession of this which set Horace apart from other men of apparently similar experience.

Of this setting apart Horace is thoroughly conscious. He is aware of a power not himself that makes for poetic achievement, and realizes all the mystery of inspiration. Melpomene cast upon

him at birth her placid glance; he expects glory neither on the field nor in the course, but looks to song for his triumphs. To Apollo, lord of the enchanting shell,

Parent of sweet and solemn-breathing airs,

who can give power of song even unto dumb fishes, he owes all his inspiration:

O testudinis aureae
Dulcem quae strepitum, Pieri, temperas,
O mutis quoque piscibus
Donatura cycni, si libeat, sonum,
Totum muneris hoc tuist,
Quod monstror digito praetereuntium
Romanae fidicen lyrae;
Quod spiro et placeo, si placeo, tuumst.

Not that poetic genius is merely an accident of birth. Horace is perfectly cognizant of the fact that poets are born *and* made, and condemns the folly of depending upon inspiration unaided. What nature begins, cultivation must develop. Neither training without the rich vein of natural endowment, nor native talent without cultivation, will suffice to make the poet; the two are friendly conspirators in the process. He who would run with success the race that is set before him must endure from boyhood up the hardships of heat and cold, and abstain from love and wine. For himself, Horace is the bee of Matinum, flitting with honeyed thigh about the banks of moist Tibur. He is aware of inspiration, but believes in supplementing it with the file, with long waiting, and conscious intellectual cultivation. Wisdom is the principal thing:

Scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons.

III

Wisdom has died with many men because they have been unable to give it enduring expression. Others, fewer in number, might have waked to ecstasy the living lyre, but were barren of a message. In his harmonious wedding of human content with dignified and beautiful expression, Horace is one of the world's best illustrations of the unity of life and letters.

THREE FACTORS IN VITALIZING THE STUDY OF THE CLASSICS

BY CLARA JANET ALLISON
Hastings, Michigan

Before every teacher of the classics today there is a problem upon whose solution depends the future of Latin and Greek as subjects of general culture. This problem, as the writer sees it, is to meet present conditions with present means; in other words, in the brief time at the command of the classical teacher and without increase of the teaching force, to meet the need of culture for the average pupil of the high school with his lack of appreciation for the culture subjects in comparison with so-called practical subjects.

A few decades ago our high schools contained but the select few fitted by nature and inclination to become scholars. Today with our broader and better conception of the function of the public school we bring into it every young person who can be forced or coaxed thither, not primarily that we may produce great men in letters or in the professions, but that we may prepare these boys and girls for citizenship and fit them for service. This is the word which strikes the true keynote of the modern ideal in education. Herbert Spencer's great epoch-making work on *Education* was a revolt against the older and narrower ideal, but, like all revolts, sought to cast out not to incorporate, that which it opposed. Absorbed with man's first duty, to make a living for himself and those dependent upon him, Spencer gave little thought to the fact that no man can live by bread alone. So, too, the educator of today in his zeal for the boy's material welfare many times forgets that to prepare him to spend his leisure hours is a duty equally important and that the need for such preparation is increasing yearly through our changing labor conditions. Will not the manner in which a man's leisure is spent determine his character as a citizen? Is it of less importance that the boy's capacity for enjoyment be trained than that he be made self-supporting?

It is with this question that we are concerned; for it is our duty and privilege to aid in laying broad and deep the founda-

tions of culture and to remember that culture is no longer to be confined to a class, but that it is today the right and need of every boy and girl. That it is his right, the high-school boy cares little; that it is a necessity, he personally does not believe; that the subjects whose chief aim is culture have a value compared with those whose utilitarian end is plain, he cannot conceive. To prove to him their value as such things only can be proved to boys and girls, through the heart rather than the intellect, is of first importance, and, speaking for Latin and Greek, can be accomplished only through thoroughly vitalizing all study of these subjects. In this the personality of the teacher is the chief factor; next in value I rank the following: attention to the individual, the use of the class hour as a study period, and the high-school classical club.

Consultation with other teachers shows two facts: first, a general belief that the individual touch of the teacher upon the pupil is essential, and secondly, that the time obtainable for this is very limited. Judging both from personal experience and observation, the teacher who deems it necessary to give attention to the individual has two objects in view: to help the backward student, and to make sure of the indolent. If, as the majority will agree, backwardness is the result primarily of a failure, largely due to indolence, in mastering form and vocabulary, whatever plan we may evolve by which each pupil does master these essentials thoroughly will enable us with very limited time to meet the needs of the really dull.

Any real gain from Latin or Greek demands much apparent drudgery, and present conditions require that this be done with little friction. No boy likes to be asked to make up work after hours, and I think that too many times this is what the time which we devote to individual work is taken up with. When such a use of that time becomes usual, spirit is lacking, work drags, and time is wasted. All this we have seen in our own classrooms and in those of others. It is general responsibility which the boy shirks, at least that which he thinks is general. To a personal responsibility he will usually respond loyally. We will suppose an instance: *is*, *ea*, *id*, the demonstrative, is assigned as a part of the lesson. It proves somewhat difficult to memorize; there

are many outside interests calling—many more, remember, than there would have been for the same boy a few years ago—he hasn't time for everything, so takes chances on the pronoun. He reasons, subconsciously perhaps, that he is only one in a class of twenty or twenty-five and that the teacher cannot call on all; he is lucky this time, at least he thinks so; another assignment goes in the same way; soon he has trouble, he finds forms that he does not recognize and which he cannot find by much searching of the vocabulary; he says, "Pshaw! What's the use? This old Latin takes too much time anyway, I am going to quit!" This is not an ideal picture but it is realistic, and we must find some remedy or let the boy go, for the devices that were common a few years ago for making him get his lessons are obsolete so far as real effectiveness is concerned. Make the same assignment with the statement that this pronoun will be reported upon by each one, at the same time setting a time limit for these reports, and you will find yourself assailed in all sorts of unexpected spots with the question, "Can you hear this report now, please?" This, too, is not ideal but realistic and is a plan that can be applied to pronouns, irregular adjectives, and nouns, vocabulary reviews, and in short to all that should be learned verbatim. There is need even in the simple assignments to make the time limit more than one day; this for the sake of the pupil who finds memorizing particularly difficult and because it should afford ample opportunity for each to make his report. It may also be necessary on the last day to remind the class that reports to receive credit must all be in by night.

The objections made to this simple plan are two: the amount of drudgery involved and the time required. To the first I would reply that the real drudgery of our teaching lies in listening to the half-hearted or wholly spiritless attempts of pupils to make up work; with this condition eliminated, drudgery likewise disappears. As to the necessary time, chinked into odd moments as many of these reports may be, the excess of time is not so great as one would think. Moreover, the hearing of declensions, vocabulary reviews, and the like, being purely mechanical work, can be delegated to pupils of whom it is necessary to require only that they

be accurate in general and particularly so in the matter of pronunciation. On the other hand, the gains from such a use of the time devoted to individual work are definite: on the part of the pupil a greater mastery of form and vocabulary, since he does not come with a half-learned lesson to make an individual report, and by the elimination of the laggard, a much greater amount of the ever essential drill work for the class; for the teacher, a chance to detect real difficulties with time to clear these up, and to aid in the correct interpretation of the text. The results are greater power and facility in translation and, with the feeling of elation which comes from the consciousness of work well done, increased interest and life in the class.

With so much of the mechanical part of our work out of the way, the class hour is at our disposal to make the most of—a rapid drill and a quick review of the previous lesson, then the preparation of the advanced lesson, not mere suggestions, but actual preparation of the lesson for recitation. It is impossible that this proposition should not be met with much doubt, probably with something much more emphatic, but I hope to show that the objections and obstacles are only apparent.

You will pardon me if I digress to remind you again that I am not speaking today for the typical student of twenty or even ten years ago, but for the pupil who needs what Latin can give him and does not know it, the boy who naturally follows the line of least resistance, the one who must have his backbone stiffened. Changing educational ideals have brought a corresponding change in the type of student and in his ideals, and we must deal with what is. I was struck by the recent remark of one who has been a most successful teacher of the classics for the past twenty years, that Latin is more difficult every year. This can have but one meaning, that, coupled with the numerous demands made upon him, perhaps growing out of these, the pupil of today has less power within himself to help himself. To say whether this be wholly true or to seek the causes for it lies outside of the present discussion; the condition to which it points does concern us. The reasons given by pupils for dropping Latin and not taking Greek are chiefly that they are too hard and take too much time. The pupil

of today will not give to these what seem to him, by comparison with the requirements of other subjects, an undue amount of time. This is a fact from which we cannot escape, but our attitude toward this pupil, who is the product of present-day thinking, will be determined by our valuation of classical study for him.

No lengthy argument is necessary to prove that if the advanced lesson were prepared in class under the direction of the teacher wrong methods of study would be eliminated and every moment made to count. When such devices as looking up each word not immediately recognized, writing down the meaning regardless of context, and then patching the whole together, are resorted to, there can be only one result, hard work and small gains by no means commensurate with the time and labor involved. President Eliot, in *Educational Reform*, p. 164, quotes and emphasizes the words of Friederich Paulsen, to the effect that it is not work which causes overfatigue so much as the lack of conscious progress. It is the last which is the root of the matter, for without consciousness of progress interest is impossible. It is because of this lack that pupils weary and with no interest soon become discouraged and in this condition are but added obstacles to the progress of the class.

All teachers say that beginning classes must have new principles developed for them and suggestions made. It is not impossible in addition to this, after studying with the class a new vocabulary, to proceed to the following exercise and call for sight translation, the teacher, of course, performing the function of grammar and dictionary. Such a method of procedure certainly begets spirit in the pupils and greater confidence in their own powers. A class with which half of an exercise is worked out in this fashion will go on and finish the assignment and do it with a spirit wholly absent under the ordinary plan; this because they have found themselves, so to speak, in the portion studied under direction. It is unnecessary to say in this connection that nothing should ever be done for pupils that they can do for themselves. Not only do beginners need constant help and direction, but, whenever the question as to where the most failures occur has been under discussion, the consensus of opinion has placed this in the second year, and the reason always given is that the change from comparatively simple

Latin to Caesar puts the pupil into a maze of difficulties out of which he often finds it impossible to find his way. With this admitted reason for his failure, it seems to me imperative that we should act as ever-watchful guides rather than as commanders issuing orders for a march, on which we know that many must fall by the way. Likewise, in changing from Caesar to Cicero and again from prose to poetry our pupils have need of this same direction and assistance, although the period of their dependence will be shorter.

I anticipate two objections to the preparation of the advanced lesson in the class. One of these, inevitable because of our own training, is that we are doing the work for the pupil. This I deny, unless we too take the line of least resistance; but we can by this means supply his needs: if his questions show lack of comprehension, explaining, if carelessness, insisting upon careful thinking; in matters of vocabulary, developing the general meaning of the word, then fitting it to the context by special or derived significance or sending him to the vocabulary and showing him how to select for himself, giving him sentences as wholes from which he can get a general sense before he seeks the particular; in short, becoming his guide for every new step until at last he has the will to walk alone with confidence in his own powers. "I like Latin when I can get it," is a not uncommon remark, and we cannot afford to disregard the suggestion it conveys. Precedent for such a use of the class hour is to be found in the German schools with whose methods some of you are familiar. Dr. G. Stanley Hall, in a lecture entitled "Made in Germany," by way of illustration follows the teaching of Latin from the first steps through Cicero and Virgil. The message of this lecture is, "Teach! Teach! Ask no pupil to take a step in advance except under direction." If the Germans do not make weak and dependent students by this method, neither need we.

The second objection is the shortness of our class periods. Here I admit a real difficulty but not an insuperable one. The German teacher has more periods in a week for Latin and more years in which to cover the ground which we must cover in four; we must therefore make some modifications while following the

spirit of his example. In doing this, progress must of necessity be slow at first, but the class preparation of the advanced lesson can gradually give way in the second year to lessons studied by the pupils who bring all difficulties to class to be cleared up before translation is attempted. Questions should and will grow less every day, and the amount of text covered will increase rapidly during the second semester, the rapidity of work at the close of the year making up for the lack of it at the beginning. Many of you will recall President Angell's account of his own experience in preparatory Latin as he told it at one of our meetings a few years ago. You will remember how the small class in which he was placed for his first real work in translation began with Virgil, laboring at first over three lines a day, but by the end of the year reading two hundred.

Concerning the classical club in the high school, since its functions and value should be well known through the many reports of such organizations published in the *Classical Journal*, it seems only necessary to emphasize a few facts indicated by these reports.

There is a general belief that collateral work is helpful in increasing interest in the study of the classics, but there are objections to any amount of this in connection with the regular class work. The May number of the *Classical Journal* for 1908 devotes several pages to this subject, and the discussion is based on reports from a number of high schools and colleges. According to these reports, wherever the amount of collateral work done is meager two chief reasons are given: first, that it is not the province of classical training merely to furnish information; secondly, that the recitation is too short. Whatever our exact attitude toward the first, we shall doubtless agree that information is not our primary aim, and this fact combined with the second reason makes an insuperable obstacle to any amount of collateral work in the regular class period. Even that essential to the understanding of the text must be as brief as possible. This amount is not sufficient to satisfy the high-school student that he is dealing with live men and women; and real things, even photographs and pictures passed about the class, fail to some extent in illustration and therefore in arousing interest, because there is not time for careful

inspection and individual questions. The report from which I have already quoted shows in conclusion that difficulties are largely obviated by voluntary organizations and emphasizes the fact that whenever these clubs exist the interest, without exception, is very great. One point to be noted as most important to this result is the necessity for illustrating the various programs.

While such societies have existed for years in colleges and universities, those of the high school are of comparatively recent origin. The Latin society of the Omaha High School under the direction of Miss Bessie Snyder and her colleagues has been one of the real pioneers in this work, and from it have come both inspiration and practical suggestions. As Miss Snyder says, "Interest and suggestion are the aim of the classical club rather than scientific information." Therefore the results are "the fruits of the spirit, and not to be computed." All testimony, in fact, goes to show that the classical club is a factor whose value cannot be overestimated in putting life into the formal study of Latin and Greek, and although the demand which it makes upon the time and energy of the teacher is heavy, it will be repaid many fold in the added interest and enthusiasm of classes.

I conclude with two thoughts which have been in my mind in writing this paper. The first is one which President Jones of the State Normal College is in the habit of emphasizing, that the true teacher is a teacher of the pupil rather than of the subject. The other is a quotation, I cannot say from whom: "When a boy leaves school it is not so much what he knows that counts, as what he likes." If these be true, then our individual work should aim to inspire in the pupil a feeling of greater responsibility and the class hour should be used for his highest good, not primarily to find out what he did not do, but in helping him to do what he thinks he cannot do, then demanding of him his best. Out of his consciousness of power and progress will spring a natural interest which can be greatly increased by the inspiration which a classical club affords. Only a wrong use of these factors need bring about any lowering of the standard of scholarship, while all testimony proves that their right use means a greater appreciation of Latin and Greek as a means of culture and an essential to a liberal education.

Note

Contributions in the form of notes or discussions should be sent to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

A TRANSPOSITION IN CAESAR *B.G.* II. 25

In describing the desperate condition in which he found the twelfth legion in the battle with the Nervii, Caesar uses the following words:

Quartae cohortis omnibus centurionibus occisis, signifero interfecto, signo amisso, reliquarum cohortium omnibus fere centurionibus *aut volneratis aut occisis*, in his primipilo P. Sextio Baculo fortissimo viro, multis gravibusque volneribus confecto, ut iam se sustinere non posset.

Before the order of *aut volneratis aut occisis* is considered, two questions demand an answer:

1. To whom does *his* refer?

2. Was P. Sextius Baculus among the *centurionibus occisis*, as the nearness of *in his* to *occisis* seems to indicate and the statement *multis gravibusque volneribus confecto ut iam se sustinere non posset* might imply?

The second question can best be answered first. That he survived this battle is known from iii. 5 and vi. 28, of which it will suffice to quote the former: "P. Sextius Baculus primi pili centurio quem Nervico proelio compluribus confectum volneribus diximus." He was not then among the *occisis*.

In regard to the first question it may be admitted that the general antecedent of *his* is *centurionibus aut volneratis aut occisis*, but further than that the mind is entitled to a fair chance to decide correctly whether he was among the *volneratis* or the *occisis*. As the mind tries to decide, it seizes very naturally on the nearest participle *occisis*, with the result that by the time it has finished *ut iam se sustinere non posset* it has reached a wrong decision or finds itself confused.

Now, Caesar's *ipsissima verba* would hardly be confusing. Let us review the passage and see what the mental economy of its composition demands. What Caesar saw and what he desired to impress on the reader's mind was the appalling loss among his officers—*quartae cohortis omnibus centurionibus occisis, signifero interfecto, signo amisso*. As the reader leaves this passage to go on, the participles *occisis, interfecto* ring in his ears—*signo amisso* being put in as little more than a comment on *signifero interfecto*—and the principal note struck is that the centurions had been "slain" (no weaker meaning for *occisis* will do). In passing on to the remaining cohorts the reader is prepared to be informed, first who were slain and next who had fared less seriously. Caesar desired further that the reader should at once grasp the full seriousness

of the situation and would naturally have put the stronger participle first, an order which is favored also by the grammatical usage with *aut aut*. That the order should have been transposed in our MSS is by no means improbable. Cf. vii. 33. 2, *de iure aut de legibus* (*de legibus aut iure* β).

Accordingly I suggest that *volneratis* and *occisis* be transposed and interpret the passage as follows:

In the fourth cohort all the centurions had been slain, the standard-bearer killed and his standard lost; in the remaining cohorts practically all the centurions had been either slain or (if not slain) wounded (which as far as fighting the present battle was concerned might be just as bad), among the latter (i.e. the wounded) P. Sextius Baculus the first javelin, a very brave man who had been worn out with many and grievous wounds, so that he could stand up no longer.

ANDREW R. ANDERSON

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Current Events

Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Volkmann School, Boston, Mass., for the territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States, west to the Mississippi River; Walter Miller, Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La., for the southern states; and by Frederick C. Eastman, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the territory west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. This department will present everything that is properly news—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.

Harvard University.—At the last November meeting of the Classical Club Professor Lanman read a delightful paper on "The Editions of an Ancient Jest." The author chosen for the "reading" meetings of the coming year is Petronius.

Professor David G. Lyon, of Harvard, lectured before the Society of the Archaeological Institute of America on December 1. He described in detail the excavations at Samaria in 1908-10, with stereopticon illustrations.

At the annual meeting of the society the following officers were chosen: Professor William F. Harris, president; Mrs. Emile F. Williams, vice-president; Dr. A. M. Tozzer, secretary; Gardiner M. Lane, treasurer; the executive committee, the above and Professor George H. Chase, Professor William K. Denison, Professor Arthur Fairbanks, Miss Alicia M. Keyes, Professor David G. Lyon, Miss Ellen F. Mason and Professor William R. Ware; councillors, Henry W. Haynes, Ernest Jackson, Dr. Alfred M. Tozzer, and Mrs. Emile F. Williams.

Reports were presented by Professor Chase on the progress of classical archaeology during 1909 and 1910; by Mr. G. M. Lane on the progress of the excavations at Cyrene; by Mr. Ernest Jackson on the progress made by the committee which is raising a fund in Boston in aid of these excavations; by Dr. K. K. Smith on the year's work of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens; by Mr. J. R. Crawford on the American School for Classical Studies at Rome, and by Professor George F. Moore of Harvard on the school at Jerusalem.

Princeton University.—Changes in the classical faculty: Professor Samuel Ross Winans died on July 25 after a short illness. Henry L. Crosby, Ph.D., preceptor in classics, has been made assistant professor of classics in the University of Pennsylvania. LaRue Van Hook, Ph.D., preceptor in classics, becomes associate professor of Greek in Barnard College, N.Y. Henry Bronson Dewing, Ph.D., instructor in classics, becomes professor of classics in Roberts College, Constantinople. John N. Schaeffer, B. Litt., instructor

in classics, becomes assistant professor of Latin in Franklin and Marshall College. Harry B. Van Deventer, Ph.D., is promoted from instructor in classics to the rank of preceptor. The following appointments have been made: H. H. Armstrong, Ph.D., fellow in the School of Classical Studies in Rome, becomes instructor in classics; R. McD. Kirkland, A.B., graduate student, University of Pennsylvania, becomes instructor in classics; D. H. Fenton, Ph.D., graduate student, Yale, becomes instructor in classics; G. W. Elderkin, Ph.D., secretary of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, becomes instructor in classics; Ernest Cary, Ph.D., acting professor of Greek at Smith College, becomes instructor in classics.

Notes.—Professor Edward Capps is in Europe on leave until February. Professor Charles Hodge Jones has been made registrar of the college, but continues teaching two divisions. Professor Frank Jewett Mather has begun his duties in the Department of Art and Archaeology. Professor Howard Crosby Butler leaves in January to continue the work of excavating ancient Sardis, under the auspices of the Princeton (Syrian) Expedition. There are over a dozen fellows, scholars, and other graduate students in classics. Of the men who received the degree of Ph.D. in June, Clifford Pease Clark has been appointed instructor in Latin at Dartmouth College, William Tunstall Semple instructor in Latin at the University of Cincinnati, Selatie Edgar Stout head of the Classical Department in William Jewell College, and Frederick Warren Wright instructor in Latin at Bryn Mawr.

Smith College.—Dr. John Everett Brady, head of the Latin Department, has resumed his classes, after spending last year abroad on leave of absence. Miss Mary Belle McElwain, who received in June of this year the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Cornell University, has been appointed instructor of Latin at Smith. Dr. Walter David Depue Hadzsits, associate professor of Latin, after an illness of two months died on July 29, 1910, at Hartford, Connecticut.

Ohio.—The Latin Round Table held at Dayton on the afternoon of November 11, in connection with the Central Ohio Teachers' Association, was a meeting of unusual interest and enthusiasm. About one hundred Latin teachers of Ohio were present. The questions treated, together with the names of those leading the discussions, were as follows:

1. "How to Secure Best Results in Teaching Latin Composition?" Principal D. A. Feree, Washington Court House.
2. "How to Stimulate a Liking for the Classics?" Miss Mason, Central High, Columbus.
3. "What Should Be the Most Important Aim of Second-Year Latin?" Mr. Taylor, Springfield.
4. (a) "Are There More Failures in the First or Second Year?" (b) "Causes of Failure in the Second Year?" Miss Snyder, Chillicothe.
5. "What Is the Value of the Stereopticon in Classical Teaching?" Mr. Hamm, Central High, Columbus.

6. "Could Not *Aen.* Book V Be Used for Sight Translation, Thereby Gaining Time for Selections from Books vii-xii?" Miss Vincent, Xenia.

7. "How Much Attention Should Be Given to the Reading of the Latin?" Mr. Eastman, Steele High, Dayton.

The discussion of the second question seemed to indicate that but few attempts had been made to arouse interest outside the classroom. Several teachers, however, reported successful Latin clubs and dramatizations, and Miss Kirby of Columbus spoke of preparations for a *Cena* soon to be given by pupils of that city.

Formal grammatical drill in second-year work versus reading for the thought involved presented a subject for lively discussion.

Miss Vincent's talk met with marked approval, and her suggestions regarding selections for class use from Books vii-xii, showed sympathetic study and discriminating appreciation.

A noteworthy feature of the meeting was the frequent allusion to the practical benefit derived from the *Classical Journal*. An interest in the Classical Association was thereby aroused which should result in a marked increase in its membership.

Columbus, Ohio.—The Columbus, Ohio, Latin Club held its first meeting of the year on November 19. The speaker of the evening was Professor Josiah R. Smith, of the Ohio State University.

The University of Chicago.—In connection with the annual conference of the University with academies and high schools, held in November 11 and 12, special departmental conferences were held. The program of the classical conference was as follows:

1. "Some Impressions and Conclusions Gained by a School Inspector," Associate Professor H. W. Prescott.
2. "Some Remarks upon Priene," Professor F. B. Tarbell.
3. An Indirect Question Box.

A most interesting event of this annual conference is that participated in by members of the Senior classes of the secondary schools—a contest in declamation, and scholarship prize examinations in Latin, German, English, mathematics, and physics. Two hundred and forty-two students from a wide range of schools competed in these contests. The Latin prize was won by Kellam Foster of the Calumet High School and Hale Hollingsworth of the Goshen High school, who tied for first place. There were thirty-seven students competing in the Latin examination.

North Dakota.—Miss May Bestor, professor of Latin in Fargo College, is in Europe this semester, her place being supplied by Miss Cecil Heinsius, formerly of the Iowa State University.

Professor F. E. Stratton, of Fargo College, devised a happy plan recently for stimulating general interest in the Greek work. From the chapel plat-

form he gave a general invitation to the student body to attend a review reading by his class of Socrates' defense before the Dicasts. The result was a large and interested audience that remained for the most part throughout the hour.

Iowa.—More than a hundred Latin teachers were in attendance at the Latin Teachers' Round Table at the Iowa State Teachers' Association. The most interesting feature of the program was an illustrated lecture by Professor Evelyn Riley, of Cornell College, on "The Classical School at Rome." The practical subjects discussed were "The Advisability of Teaching Latin Conversation" and "The Memorizing of Latin Vocabulary Lists." According to the plan adopted two years ago an hour of the program was given to the Iowa Auxiliary Section of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, the Iowa vice-president, Professor Smiley, presiding. Professor Smiley presented the cause and the purposes of the Classical Association and the *Classical Journal*, and many who were already members participated in an enthusiastic "testimony" meeting as to the practical value of membership. About twenty names were added to the list. The practical value of the Auxiliary Section has been amply proved in Iowa.

In the past two years the department of Greek at Grinnell College, through the instrumentality of a Hellenic Society among the students, has presented certain features of the ancient Dionysiac festivals at Athens. Last spring the *Anthesteria* was celebrated in an open-air fête upon the campus. This fall a dithyrambic chorus rendered before a select audience choral odes appropriate to the celebration of the *Lenaea*. On both occasions the odes were written and the orchestras arranged by Professor Joseph Walliser of the English Department, while the music was the composition of Professor Clara E. Millerd. All who witnessed the presentations felt that they were worth while not only as splendid interpretations of the spirit of ancient Greek life, but also as original artistic achievements of high merit.

The *Classical Index* is the title of a four-page magazine just launched by Professor Heffelbower, of Parsons College. It is designed chiefly for the pupils of high schools. Vol. I, No. 1, presents considerable interesting matter.

Iowa.—The Iowa State Hellenic Society held its annual meeting at Des Moines November 3 in connection with the convention of the State Teachers' Association. The meeting was well attended and very enthusiastic. The society has already done good work in drawing together the Greek teachers of Iowa. Last fall it circulated among the incoming Freshmen a letter calling attention to the claims of Greek.

The program of the Greek Teachers' Round Table, held at the same date, consisted of a paper by Colonel Alonzo Abernethy entitled "Greek Teachers, Old and New," and an interesting illustrated lecture by Professor C. H. Weller, entitled "A Summer Tour in Peloponnesus." An unusually large number were in attendance.

Missouri.—In St. Louis University Professors George Mahowald, Henry Erbacher, and James Williams have been appointed to succeed Professors William O'Neill, Joseph McLaughlin, and Joseph Flynn.

Professor Mahowald is making a Latin version of the quarrel scene between Brutus and Cassius in *Julius Caesar* with the intention of having it acted by his pupils.

Professor J. E. Stout has returned to his work in William Jewell College after a year in Princeton. Professor R. H. Coon remains as associate professor.

In the University of Missouri Professor Eva Johnston has resumed her regular work as professor of Latin after being acting advisor of women for a year. Miss Bertha E. Booth, last year scholar in Latin at Cornell University, is assistant in Latin; John Shapley is assistant in classical archaeology.

A classical club has been formed among the undergraduates for the purpose of studying and discussing the current classical journals. They will also read some one of the church Fathers. The president is Miss Helen Ross. The entrance requirements of the university have been changed so as to conform practically to the recommendations of the commission.

Miss Louise P. Smith, of Bryn Mawr, succeeds Miss Patterson as assistant in Latin and Greek in Hardin College. Miss Patterson is studying in Berlin.

The Senior class of the Yeatman High School, St. Louis, will present Stephen Phillips' *Ulysses* to renew interest in classical subjects.

At the Manual Training High School, Kansas City, John A. Badke, of Heidelberg, was added to the Latin faculty.

Program of the Department of Classics, Missouri State Teachers' Association, November 11.—

"What Should Be the Aim of a First Latin Book?" Mr. D. S. White, St. Joseph High School. Discussion: Mr. A. T. Chapin, Kansas City Central High School; Mr. C. A. Hawkins, Maryville Schools.

"The Kingdom and the Cavalry: An Experience with Translations in the Homer Class." Mr. J. Vallance Brown, Tarkio College. Discussion: Mr. C. E. Vance, Kansas City Central High School; Mr. P. B. Burnet, Kansas City Manual Training High School.

"Some Phases of Roman Law." Mr. A. L. Wolfe, Park College.

Kansas.—Fairmount College has the largest beginning Greek class in its history. The Latin Department has students in all the college classes. Senior work includes pro-seminar in Lucretius and teachers' training course.

In the Wichita high school it is noted that while the third and fourth years are elective the number of Latin students is on the increase.

Program of Latin Round Table, Kansas State Teachers' Association, October 21.—

General Theme: "Are We Wasting Time on Nonessentials?"

1. "What Purposes Does High-School Latin Serve?" Professor Felix E. Held, Emporia College.

2. "Can We Omit Portions of the First-Year Work?" Mr. J. E. Cook, Ness City.
3. "Are We Giving Too Much Time to Composition?" Miss Anna Shafer, Olathe.
4. "Are We Giving Time Enough to Securing Good English?" Miss Minnie J. Oliverson, Kansas City, Kansas.
5. "Are Parts of the Grammar Unnecessary for Preparatory Work?" Mrs. Eva Gill Clark, Goodland.

Arkansas.—J. G. Cubage, of the University of Arkansas, has succeeded Ury McKenzie as professor of Latin in the Arkansas State Normal School. Mr. McKenzie goes to the Hot Springs High School.

The classical and modern-language teachers have organized a language section of the Arkansas State Teachers' Association.

Colorado.—The Latin Department of the University of Denver plans to give the *Phormio* of Terence as a public performance some time before the end of the present college year. It will be given partly in translation and partly in the original, the idea being to render the substance of the play perfectly comprehensible to those who know little or nothing of Latin, and at the same time to indicate to those who attend the effect of the play as the Roman audience saw it.

Edwin G. Green, 1905 University of Denver, goes this year to the professorship of Greek and Latin in Fort Worth University, Texas. Miss Evelyn Green, 1909, occupies the chair of Latin and German in the Woman's College, Montclair, Colorado.

At the Classical Section of the State Teachers' Association of Colorado, November 22, the following program was presented:

"The Practical Side of Plato." Dr. M. F. Libby, University of Colorado.

"A Cruise on the Aegean." Mary K. Wallace, Wolcott School, Denver.

"A Visit to Some of Caesar's Battlefields." Robert Newland, East Side High School, Denver.

"Latin Prose." F. B. R. Hellems, University of Colorado.

Washington.—Mr. Andrew Oliver, of the Seattle High School, sends us the following account of a "Roman Comedy on Puget Sound":

One evening during the latter part of May of the present year a somewhat novel form of entertainment was successfully attempted by some classical students of the Broadway High School of Seattle, Washington. The performance consisted of the presentation in Latin of three characteristic scenes from the *Menaechmi* of Plautus, with appropriate costumes, stage-setting, etc. Since the short twilight could hardly be depended upon to furnish the necessary illumination, a number of Chinese lanterns were strung over the evergreen stage; for the play was given out-of-doors on the shores of Lake Washington, with a natural background of trees amid the verdure of the surrounding hills.

The first scene presented was the riotous, mad scene, in which the chief characters are Menaechmus of Epidamnus, his aged father-in-law, and the faithful slave Messenio. These parts were all well played, as were those of the Lorarii, who also appear in this scene. The two scenes following were likewise from the last "act" of the drama, the closing lines being from the final scene in the comedy, in which occurs Messenio's proclamation of the auction sale of the estate of his master, Menaechmus of Epidamnus, including house, furniture, wife, etc.

Preceding each scene a brief introduction in English was given by the writer, who acted as "Dominus Gregis." Some attention was paid to the relation of Shakespeare's complex *Comedy of Errors* to this simple Latin farce of Plautus.

Following the presentation of the comedy a mixed chorus of about fifteen voices, accompanied by an instrumental sextette comprising three violins, cello, flute, and piano, chanted the familiar Sapphic ode of Horace, "Persicos odi, puer, apparatus." The musical score for this ode was composed by the late Professor Frederick De Forest Allen of Harvard University and was sent to the writer by Dr. Morris Morgan very shortly before the latter's death last spring in Cambridge.

Inasmuch as several urgent requests were made for a repetition of the performance, it was found possible some ten days later to give the entertainment in the auditorium of the high school, where nearly five hundred students and their friends assembled to enjoy a bit of genuine Roman comedy into which the youthful actors entered with vim and enthusiasm; and to listen to a sympathetic rendering of the haunting numbers of a great Latin lyricist, set to music by one of our most distinguished American scholars.

Nebraska.—One of the most practical programs ever presented in Nebraska was that presented at the last State Teachers' Association. The program follows:

1. "A Proposed Unification of Latin Teaching in Nebraska," Miss Olivia Pound, Lincoln High School.
2. "Latin Composition," Miss Virginia McGrew, Harvard High School.
3. "Latin Games, Entertainments, and Clubs in High Schools," Miss Alice C. Hunter, State University of Nebraska.

The above papers elicited much interest and were thoroughly discussed. A committee was appointed to try to carry into effect the recommendations of the first paper.

A Latin Club exists at the university, limited to twenty-five, to which students are elected solely on the basis of scholarship. The meetings are held once a month and the programs are varied. A banquet is a feature of the last meeting in May.

State College for Women, Florida.—Miss Sallie Belle Williams, of Columbus, Ga., graduate of the Athens, Ga., Normal School, succeeds this year Miss

Shirley Long (now pursuing a graduate course at Columbia University) as instructor in Latin in the Normal Department.

The Classical Club was reorganized October 28, 1910. The girls in the college classes and sub-collegiate classes all belong, about thirty-two individual students. Membership includes five men and six women of the faculty. The annual banquet of last May left a good effect. The menu was in Latin. The program was:

November, Organization.

December, "The Value and the Meaning of Myths," illustrated (stereopticon).

January, "Mythology in Literature and Art," illustrated (stereopticon).

February, "The Academy of Plato" (by the President of the college).

March, "Earlier Centuries of Greek and Latin Music."

April, "Greek Dramatists" (address), and a reading of Euripides' *Alcestis*.

The program this year is not complete, but Plautus' *Trinummus* (in English) will be given in February before the club or College audience.

The club is a "*Classicum concilium*"; each of the seven classes has a committeeman elected by the class. The direction is under the two teachers of classics in the College and Normal School. This club has even adopted a motto, *οὐ πολλὰ ἀλλὰ πολλὰ*, and colors, purple and old gold.

Young's Female College, Georgia.—Dramatization of classical scenes is doing much to make Latin and Greek alive to students of all degrees. One of the Latin classes last June "played" Horace's Ninth Satire. Two of the girls impersonated Horace and his boy walking down the Sacred Way; a third girl, in the person of the bore, met them, and later the two other interlocutors of the scene, speaking their respective parts. Descriptive portions necessary to the complete story were thrown into dialogue by Miss Merrill. A similar plan was worked out equally effectively with a class in Caesar. They dramatized the controversy between Caesar and the Haeduan over the grain—the Haeduan Council whom Caesar meets; the private interview with Liscus; then with Diviciacus; and with the latter and Dumnorix. This line of work is being continued this year. It began with a real Roman school. For this the room was hung with mottoes from Horace, Virgil, and other authors; also lists of dates and authors, and busts. The pupils had tabulae and stili for writing; they were taught orally selections from the first book of Caesar and of Virgil. "Mica, mica parva stella," set to original music, was the song for the day.

At another meeting a scene from the *Aeneid* was given, a dramatization of parts of the first book, beginning with Aeneas and Achates in the temple. The queen enters, and outside is heard the contention between the Trojans trying to land and the Tyrians opposing. They enter, and in turn present requests to the queen. At her wish that he were present Aeneas steps out. A very charming dialogue ensues. Ascanius brings the gifts, which are received graciously by the queen. She then invites them to her home.

Book Reviews

The Roman Republic. By W. E. HEITLAND, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. New York: Putnam; London: Cambridge University Press, 1909. 3 vols, large 8vo, pp. 355, 534, 563. \$10 net.

"Is there room for another political study of the Roman Republic?" asks Mr. Heitland at the very beginning of his preface, and, without definitely proceeding to answer his own question, sets down all the difficulties that stand in the way of doing better than others have done. This becoming diffidence is in some sense a characteristic of the entire work. It is not sufficient to deter the author from adventuring his task, but it is enough to make him walk delicately, where a bolder stride would be at least more dramatically effective. He aims at a frank appreciation and acknowledgment of all those periods in the history of the Republic on which there is clearly not enough evidence extant to enable the judicious student to say definitely, "this is so." Plainly neither the vigorous reconstruction of Mommsen nor the complacent pretentiousness of Ferrero can exert much influence upon him. Such clear and calm English honesty of purpose, showing sturdily along the whole course of the narrative, is one of the charms of the book to the present reviewer's somewhat jaded palate. It goes a considerable way toward making up for some neglect of the arguments of students of special points. Mr. Heitland is frank in acknowledging his disregard of much of this material. "The modern literature," he says in his preface, "is immense, and I have only been able to read a part of it." It must always be a question just how far such an excuse is to be held sufficient by the readers of a history as voluminous in bulk and elaborate in execution as this is. It would clearly not be held sufficient in the case of a writer who should essay to treat of a brief period, or a limited question, in Roman history. But shall a writer who ventures the mightier task of covering in reasonably full detail the whole sweep of the Republic be granted indulgence, if in a hundred places, here and there, he shows no sign of having read, still less of having taken into account, the investigations carried on by less ambitious scholars? A general history of the Roman Republic is, to be sure, something more than an agglomeration of separate studies of a succession of periods, or of a series of topics; but why should its author expect to be pardoned for a deficiency of knowledge in any one of these separate fields? Why essay a task too extended for his powers or his leisure?

The contempt of the Englishman for the meticulous industry of the German unfortunately became proverbial in the last generation. It was too often accompanied by—perhaps generally prompted by—a practical inability to read the German's productions. This inability, and the indifference under

which it shielded itself, are fortunately passing away. Perhaps the present generation may see the need of impressing upon the German the necessity of acquainting himself with what is written in English. Mr. Heitland's reading has by no means been entirely confined to English, but it has apparently been very limited outside of that tongue, not even including some of the better known treatises in French, Italian, and German that do not confine themselves to minute points. Thus on Rome's contact with the East he mentions in his preface as authorities Mahaffy, Mommsen, and Holm (of course accessible in English), but does not refer to Colin's *Rome et la Grèce de 200 à 146 avant Jésus-Christ* (published in 1905), and apparently did not use it. He quotes on the early period Pais, but apparently only from his *Ancient Legends of Roman History* (accessible in English), and not at all from his *Storia di Roma*. It is hardly credible that if he had studied carefully various of the German treatises on topography, his references in these matters should not have shown more trace of their influence. Indeed, Mr. Heitland's disdain of disputed topographical points is carried very far. For example, though his description of the Second Punic War is long and full of detail, the troublesome questions of locality are studiously avoided. No one will get even a hint from Mr. Heitland's otherwise elaborate treatment of where to find anything about Hannibal's passage of the Alps, Trebia, Trasimene, Cannae. "For our purpose it matters not," "the many points in dispute do not concern us"—these are his phrases. They would be more proper in a smaller work. With all charity for difference of view it must appear that so large a book requires at least more bibliographical footnotes or appendices.

On one small but important episode, that of Catiline, Mr. Heitland has read at least some of the modern German *abhandlungen*. He tells us so in his preface (*exceptio probat regulam*) and in his note (§ 1042), and his chapter on Cicero and Catiline is thoroughly tinged by his reading, though it is not clear that he used *La conjuration de Catilina* of Boissier, whom in general, however, he praises justly for the truthfulness of his depictions (§3). Surely it was not impossible for Mr. Heitland to do for every chapter at least as much as he did for the one here cited, and his work would have gained immensely in value by such attention, nor, as this chapter also demonstrates, would the vigor of his treatment have been at all impaired thereby.

The mention of a few points in the earlier part of the work will serve for illustration. Mr. Heitland repeats the old notions about the Septimontium, and the (classical) Subura as a part of it (§ 26). These old notions were new once. But it is difficult to believe that any historian would now so write in the face of Wissowa's *Septimontium und Subura* (published in 1896), to say nothing of other works that have followed. Similar trouble exists in the presentation of many points concerning the early city organization. Surely, by the way, freedmen must be reckoned with as a part of the Roman *familia* (§31), though they came into social prominence only at a relatively late period.

Mr. Heitland asserts (following Maine?) that the family is the basis of Roman society. But somewhere and sometime the present reviewer hopes to find a treatment of early Roman society that emphasizes the easily recognizable fact that the simplest natural group (the family) is not the original social group. It may be an atom, but society deals with molecules as the smallest masses. In the ultimate analysis of the Roman social organism we appear to get back, not to the family at all by itself, but to the family in established combination of life with other families. The nature of that prehistoric institution, the *consilium*, shows this clearly. Even the *patria potestas* (to say nothing of the regal power), without the check of the community through the *consilium*, is a purely imaginary abstraction of the social theorist. Society is working in groups, not in families, as far back as we can trace it. Mr. Heitland, on the other hand, follows the usual course in assuming the family as the unit, and regarding the group as a division of the later total community of families.

It is at least doubtful whether a wrong impression is not conveyed by the statement (§25) that in the early days the hills "stood out more boldly than they do now." In the sketch-map on p. 26 of the first volume the "pseudo-Aventine" is represented erroneously as bounded by a marked declivity on its southeastern side. This is an error that is committed, to be sure, by many maps of the city. "The great size of the Servian Wall and the Cloaca," remarks the author, "point [*sic*] to large resources and a good supply of labour, which can best be conceived as acting under the pressure of absolute power." Mr. Heitland is doubtless not alone among historians in being apparently ignorant that the so-called Cloaca Maxima is not the only great cloaca in Rome of equally early construction. But it is a more serious error to support an argument about the character of the early government by citing constructions that are surely of much later date. Indeed, Mr. Heitland shows by reference elsewhere that he has at least run across some doubts about both works (I, 29 n., 97 n.). The chapter on "Religion" might have been helped by the study of Wissowa's *Religion und Kultus der Römer*; or if the author had definitely decided not to guide his readers to the greatest works on the subject unless they were written in English, at least Carter's *Religion of Numa* might well have been added to the books cited in the footnote in I, 19. In speaking of coinage (I. 349) Mr. Heitland follows merely Mommsen (as presented in Marquardt's *Staatsverwaltung*), apparently in entire disregard of all the investigations of the last fifty years, in the light of some of which Mommsen himself, indeed, is reported to have changed his views on the early coinage. Botsford's *Roman Assemblies* doubtless appeared too late to be used on the matters of which it treats.

Mr. Heitland does not tell again the pleasant old annalistic stories from the early days of Rome. He assumes them as familiar. But whence, in the name of Niebuhr, should they be familiar to the present generation? Since they have been swept out of the house as rubbishy history, the little books omit them,

as taking too much space, and better left therefore to larger treatises; and now that the larger histories disdain to present them, whence are they to become known? As a fact the present generation of young students shows itself very ill informed about them. Evidently the school library must still keep a copy of Arnold's *History of Rome* on its shelves.

To recur, without further discussion, to Mr. Heitland's primary question, "Is another history—one like this—worth while?" If the question had been asked before the book was actually written, the answer, we fear, ought to have been, "No, unless the field of modern discussion can be better mastered." But now that the book is written, its actual charms are so great that it wins a cordial welcome for itself, like some undesired infant. It is eminently a readable book. It has a straightforward simplicity and manliness of style that kindles and preserves interest, and attracts by its evident sincerity and its instinctive choice of essential aspects for depiction. As a work of final reference it must be used with caution. As a piece of organized historical composition it is most excellent.

E. T. M.

Petrarch's Letters to Classical Authors. Translated from the Latin with a Commentary. By MARIO EMILIO COSENZA. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1910. Pp. xiv+208.

When Ovid published his *Heroides* or "Epistles of Heroines" he aroused the sympathetic interest not alone of his own world but of generations of readers after him. This is due in part to the highly dramatic character of these pieces, but still more to the striking realism produced by an apparently contemporaneous account of far distant times and events by the actual participants in them. By this means a sense of intimacy on the part of the modern reader is established with those who are far removed in space, time, and circumstance.

Petrarch, whose correspondence covered a wide range among the prominent men of his day, was attracted to include among those whom he addressed some of the great men of the far past as well, though from a somewhat different motive. How he fell into this habit of correspondence with the dead he himself explains in his preface:

Cicero, however, exhibits such weakness in his adversity [i.e., as revealed in his letters] that, although I am delighted with his style, I am oftentimes equally offended by his actions. . . . On reading these letters, I am soothed and ruffled at the same time. I could not restrain myself, and, indignation prompting me, I wrote to him as to a friend of my own years and time, regardless of the age which separated us. Indeed, I wrote with a familiarity acquired through an intimate knowledge of the works of his genius, and I pointed out to him what it was that offended me in his writings. This letter served as a precedent. Years later, on re-reading the tragedy entitled *Octavia*, the memory of the letter which I had addressed to Cicero prompted me to write to Seneca also. Thereafter, and as occasion offered, I addressed letters to Varro, Vergil, and others.

Without entering upon the letters themselves, it is enough to say that they contain criticisms of our classical authors of immense value to us, since they come frankly and fearlessly from one who was himself a deep student and an ardent lover of the classics, the greatest classicist of his time, and have to us all the realism of contemporaneous correspondence.

We are, therefore, under the greater obligation to Doctor Cosenza for his work by which these letters are made immediately and easily available to English readers. In addition to the translated letters, he has given us an introduction, with the history of how the letters come to be written and published, and extensive and illumining notes on each letter. The translator's own purpose in these notes he has himself stated:

The notes have been made as detailed as seemed necessary and consistent with the character of each. Some of the quotations from the original sources, or from translations, may appear somewhat lengthy at first glance. In all instances, however, it has been deemed quite essential to reproduce in the mind of the reader the condition and the attitude of Petrarch's mind. Only in this way do many brief expressions and poignant allusions of Petrarch become perfectly clear.

F. J. MILLER

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Dead Letters. By MAURICE BARING. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1910. Pp. xiii+243.

Following the example of Petrarch, Andrew Lang, in 1886, published his volume of *Letters to Dead Authors*, in which he discourses familiarly with, or rather to, some of the great authors of the past.

And now comes Maurice Baring with his *Dead Letters*, dead only in that the people by whom and to whom these are supposed to have been written are long since dead; for the letters themselves are uncommonly quick and alive with interest both in style and in content. These were originally published serially in the *Morning Post*, as the author states in his dedicatory preface. Nearly half of the book is devoted to letters dating from ancient classical times; while the remaining part is filled with epistles ranging all the way from the days of King Arthur to so modern a date as a scant year ago. It is the first half, then, which will be of special interest to classical readers.

Glancing through these pages, we find ourselves absorbed in the private advices from Mycenae and Troy covering a period from just before to immediately after the Trojan War, through the correspondence of Clytemnestra, Aegisthus, Helen, Agamemnon, and others. It is amazing how human these shadowy beings become. If they lose some of the dignity which enshrouds the heroic figures of antiquity, they certainly gain much in reality. We find in another letter Clodia writing like any modern gossip to a friend, telling of the outrageous conduct of Catullus at her dinner party, to which,

by the way, he has introduced himself unbidden; in others we catch intimate glimpses behind the scenes of Caesar, Cicero, and Ovid, and many others of our favorites. Messalina appears as an altogether charming but outrageously misunderstood and sinned-against lady. Nero is an agreeable, business-like, gentlemanly and scholarly fellow, albeit a bit cruel toward the Jews and Christians; and Marcus Aurelius is a prim, Puritanical saint—and sissy. He cannot understand how the Christians can be so unreasonable as to refuse to obey his perfectly proper request for conformity. "It is not as if we had ever forced a pious man to commit an impious action or to say a shameful thing. But it is quite a different thing when a man is ordered to celebrate the Sun or to sing a beautiful hymn in honor of Athene." His empress also thinks the Christians are horrid. She says it is disgraceful that in the present enlightened age people should be allowed to cover children with flour, to massacre, and to eat them. She knows they do this, for she has had it on the best authority; in fact, her maid knows someone who has seen them do it.

Lest the unwary be misled into accepting all these things as gospel truth just because they see them in print, the author warns them that much of what he has written is but the "chaff of fancy," intermingled, it is true, with grains of historical truth. But, however fanciful they are, the letters are still so seeming true that he who reads them with a background of knowledge will with safety and much joy give himself up to their perusal.

F. J. MILLER

The Comedies of Terence. Edited with Introduction and Notes by
SIDNEY G. ASHMORE. New York: Oxford University Press,
American Branch, 1908. Pp. viii+68+289+340.

Within comparatively small compass Professor Ashmore has succeeded in giving the essentials of the text criticism and interpretation of the six extant plays. This book is well adapted for use in advanced courses in which several of the comedies are read.

The Introduction contains a treatment of the development of Roman comedy, the life and works of Terence, his influence upon literature, the characters portrayed in his plays, dramatic representations in Rome, meters, early Latin prosody, and such other topics as are usually included in the introductory essays of college editions of the Latin poets. The text and the critical apparatus at the foot of the page are adopted from the edition of Tyrrell in the *Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*. Some changes, however, have been introduced, and the more troublesome passages have been discussed in brief critical appendices at the end of the commentary on each play. The subject-matter of the commentary has been selected with good judgment. Difficulties have been met fairly, and the amount of superfluous or decorative matter has been reduced to a minimum. The editor has wisely refrained from encumbering

his notes with parallel references to all the American grammars. When a reference has been necessary he has chosen "the grammar which seemed to throw the clearest light on the difficulty in question." The references are to Allen and Greenough, Bennett, Hale and Buck, Gildersleeve-Lodge, Harkness, or Roby.

The tone of the whole book is strikingly conservative. Professor Ashmore shows that he is familiar with the work of contemporary scholars, but makes it equally clear that he has no special weakness for running after strange gods. Where he must choose between a new view and an old one, he chooses the latter unless the evidence advanced in support of the new theory amounts to a positive demonstration. The elimination of the sporting chance is apparently one of the first articles of his editorial creed. This is on the whole the safe course; it has the advantage of excluding new errors. It does not, however, tend to reduce the old errors, of which in every author there is of necessity a vast ruck. Moreover, one must remember that many of the traditional views won recognition on evidence quite as incomplete as that advanced in support of more recent interpretations. For example, in discussing the origin of comedy (Introduction, p. 9) Ashmore adopts the old view, which postulates the existence of a dramatic *satura*, and dismisses Hendrickson's theory (*A.J.P.*, XV) in a few words, on the ground that it has "failed to win general acceptance." Whether Hendrickson has established his thesis or not, he has certainly demonstrated clearly the flimsiness of the evidence upon which the traditional view is based. The question is one of those which has not yet been thoroughly thrashed out, and finality of judgment is precluded. It is, I understand, soon to be the subject of renewed discussion. The same conservatism is shown on p. 41: "in the old Attic Comedy the number of actors employed in a single drama was limited to three," a statement which disregards entirely the conclusions of Rees in his recent monograph, *The So-Called Rule of Three Actors in the Classical Greek Drama*; and in the section on prosody (p. 59) it is the old scansion that is given, *illē quēm* (*Ad.* 72) and *illē qui illam* (*Phorm.* 109), in spite of the strong case made out for *ill'* by Skutsch. See also Sommer, *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre* (Heidelberg, 1902), p. 166. The statement on p. 58 of the Introduction that "in Terence final -s invariably fails to make position" is apparently a slip.

In comparison with the number of points treated in the commentary relatively few statements are open to question. Some inaccuracies, however, occur. On p. 55 it is stated that "the door to which words like *crepare* apply did not open directly on the street, but into a passage, at the other end of which was the street door." No evidence is cited in support of the existence of the door referred to in the last clause of the sentence quoted. All that we know of the ancient house tends to show that the door which opened into the passage was the street door. On p. 166 we are told that *ut mihi liceat*, etc., is a clause of purpose. It does not, however, give the purpose of *morte depecisci*, but the condition. The subjunctive is stipulative. On p. 169 *vix tandem*

is correctly translated "at last," but in the absence of a closer analysis of the phrase students will certainly miss the force of *vix*. *Tandem* expresses Geta's surprise that Demipho had mentioned Antipho's name before his; *vix* indicates that his name had just escaped being passed over entirely. On p. 170 (*Phorm.* 265) the editor follows Hauler in calling *noris* . . . *noris* future perfect indicative, but in both cases *noris* is the subjunctive, which in the second singular indefinite is regularly used both in generalizing clauses and in independent general statements of facts. See Hale's article in *Class. Phil.*, I, 21 ff. There is another example of this usage in *Phorm.* 341 f., *tu rideas*, etc., which our editor incorrectly explains as "a kind of *oratio obliqua*, a sort of quotation of the courtesies rendered by the *rex*." On p. 171 the note "*hōc* (nom. and accus. sing.) is long" will lead students to believe that the vowel, and not merely the syllable, is long.

G. J. LAING

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SIGHT-TESTS

It is a wholesome thing that there should be continual discussion of the aims and methods of teaching Latin and Greek, chiefly because such discussion sets the individual teacher to thinking out the reasons for his own procedure, partly because there is always a chance that some general reform may be worked out. In such discussions, of course, those who are dissatisfied with the present order of things do most of the talking; for those who find under existing conditions ample opportunity to work toward what they consider the true goal of classical study have less occasion to express their views. One would not wish the dissatisfied to keep silence, for all progress must come from dissatisfaction. But the converse is not true: all dissatisfaction does not tend toward progress.

The Commission on College-Entrance Requirements has made certain concessions to those who feel that they are too hampered by the traditional secondary course of reading and to those who feel that more emphasis on reading at sight will result in better teaching. In making these concessions the commission certainly intended nothing revolutionary, yet there is danger that its action will be misinterpreted in some quarters. The requirement of sight-tests, in particular, is known to have caused some uneasiness in inexperienced teachers, who have feared that some radical but unknown change in methods would be required of them; it has aroused in some enthusiasts visionary hopes of seeing secondary pupils learn to read Latin as easily as a modern language; it is even said to have called forth from a certain college professor the criticism that the requirement is premature because there is as yet no textbook with which to teach sight-reading.

To aid in correcting such misapprehensions, we have invited an article on sight-tests from one who might not otherwise enter the discussion. Mr. Moulton is eminently qualified to write on the subject,

since he was a member of the commission which formulated the report, and a high-school teacher of long and well-proved success.

ACCOUNT OF STOCK

As we close the current volume, which is in a very real sense a record of the activities of the workers in the associations of which this journal is the organ, it is natural to ask: What are the tangible results of the year's work? Of course only the out-standing features can be noticed in a brief review. In regard to the scholarly activity of our members, the articles published during the past year speak for themselves. The three great classical associations of the country have made decided advances toward closer fraternal relations; while a call has recently been issued for the organization of a Classical Association of the Pacific Northwest, corresponding in scope and intent to the associations already organized. The formation of this association would put the classical interests of practically the whole country under organization. Much progress has been made in the interest of uniform admission requirements in Latin, as shown by the rapidly increasing number of conforming colleges and universities.

Perhaps the most notable feature of the year's work will be seen by a glance at the general index under the head of "Current Events." We refer to the widespread interest shown in classical dramas, and their presentation by the schools, and the unusually large number of classical clubs and societies which have been formed and maintained. Both features show a healthy interest in classical study extending over all parts of our field which is most encouraging.

Above all, the dominant note of the year has been that of optimism. The feeling of courage and good cheer has found utterance at the various meetings and in the more local activities. The chairman of the Nominating Committee at St. Louis may have meant it for a bit of pleasantry, but he really uttered words of wisdom when he said in nominating the candidate for president of our association for the ensuing year: "He is fitted in many other respects for the office, but we have chosen him especially because of his cheerful optimism." This assuredly is the spirit in which we should approach our work and fight our battles. *Hoc signo vincemus!*

SIGHT-TESTS: THEIR AIMS AND HOW TO PREPARE FOR THEM

BY FRANK PRESCOTT MOULTON
Hartford, Conn.

Much at various times has been said about sight-reading and the necessity of teaching our pupils to read Latin literature instead of merely reading set tasks. Since the Commission of Fifteen met at Cleveland and recommended that a sight-passage be set on every examination paper in Latin which has a passage from the prescribed reading, this question has assumed great importance and calls for careful and serious consideration.

My aim in writing this article, however, as a high-school teacher and a member of that commission, is to show that, while our ultimate object is to learn to read Latin literature without the aid of grammar and lexicon, in only four years of high-school work with ordinary pupils this cannot be expected; secondly, that the four years' training in the study of Latin is exceedingly valuable, though we may not in that time learn to read Latin literature readily; thirdly, that sight-tests and sight-reading were recommended by the commission, not for the purpose of supplanting the time-honored thoroughness and drill in the syntax and structure of the Latin language, but as a means of securing a more rational and serviceable knowledge of these very things by improved methods of teaching.

This age of progress in science, government, and education has aroused the masses of the people to great mental activity; to a consideration of the means by which great things have been accomplished and by which also even a greater and ever-expanding progress may be continued. All this has created great discussion, which, however, in weaker and less thoughtful minds sometimes degenerates into mere agitation. Discussion is always helpful; agitation confuses and weakens a great cause. The processes of education in schools and colleges have been greatly improved, and

the aims and standards of education have been raised, by earnest and thoughtful discussion. We who have a vital interest and an active participation in the progress of education must see that the cause of education may receive no detriment from thoughtless agitation.

I sometimes fear that the position of Latin in our courses of study is more in danger of being weakened by the unguarded statements and criticisms of its friends and advocates than from any other source. Many enthusiastic Latinists think that we should teach our pupils to read Latin literature, to speak and think in Latin; and they say that, if we do not attain this object, the study of Latin is not worth while and may as well be given up. Now, while this high aim should ever be kept before us as the goal toward which we are working, we must not be expected to reach that goal too soon. We must not be goaded on by unreasoning masters nor be set to make bricks without straw. We will enjoy our tasks and receive pleasure and profit on the way. Let the child enjoy the rainbow though he do not reach the pot of gold.

Others, who have an enthusiastic fondness for Latin syntax, may deplore the tendency of the teaching of those whose aim is merely to read extensively with little regard to syntax or accuracy. These extreme views and the disparaging criticism of one party by the other should be lightly heeded by those who arrange the courses of study and by those who set the examinations in Latin. Each school of critics must look at the efforts and aims of the other with more sympathy and appreciation. It is interesting and profitable to note that almost every practice or belief that one race or people in the world has adopted as necessary or commendable some other race has condemned; and what one race has condemned some other has approved. Again, any people or party or organization can thrive under and profit by criticism from outside; or by sound and healthy criticism even from within. But when an individual or party or organization begins to doubt the wisdom of its own course of action and takes to a moody and despondent criticism of itself, the end is decline or suicide.

The ability to read Latin readily can only come from a more

extended course in the college or the university. In the high school we should aim to give such instruction that those pupils who go to college shall receive the best preparation for the more rapid reading of Latin in college, and those who go no farther than the high school shall enjoy their work and at the same time receive the best possible training.

I sometimes fear that our colleges are dominated too much by the spirit and aims of the university, and so they wish the high schools to prepare boys to do work adapted to the university. Not the too great demand in any one subject, however, but the demand for extended preparation in too many subjects is now fast getting to be the intolerable burden placed upon the high schools. The college must not expect all subjects even to have been begun in the high school. It must be content to teach some subjects from the foundation, and for a time at least in other subjects to continue the same teaching and training which the young men have received in the high school. Teaching rather than investigation should be the work of the college. The university may well devote a part of its energy to research and original investigation. The college can do but little in this direction, and the high school should not, directly, aim at originality. Strictly, all knowledge is relative. Learning is drawing conclusions from related things. All knowledge and individual power come primarily from imitation. Improvement on what we imitate is our only originality. You cannot teach originality or force genius. In time originality will reveal itself and mature by the exercise of the individuality of its possessor. Thought begets thought. The genius is one who sees new relations in thought or the operations of nature; the former becomes the author, the latter the inventor. Education gives food to both. The proper digestion of the food is the work of the individual. We often hear it said that we must teach our pupils to think. Very true. But the first process is to give them something to think about. Parenthetically, I would like to say right here that one fault in the teaching of English is that we too often try to teach young pupils to express their thoughts clearly, elegantly, and forcibly, before they have any thoughts to express.

But, to keep to my subject, Nature will take care of digestion in a healthy body if proper food is given in the proper quantity at the proper time. In our endeavor to educate the boy we must not try to overfeed, or to give an adolescent youth what is adapted to an adult person. We must not expect maturity from immaturity. To sum up my whole thought in a word, we cannot expect boys, especially before the last year in the high school, to develop much power, judgment, and self-reliance in sight translation. But to say that boys cannot be expected to learn to read Latin literature freely and unaided in the high school is not to say that they should not be required under the guidance of the teacher to practice reading at sight Latin properly graded. This practice should begin very early and should be kept up. The one thing to be kept in mind is that the teacher must be ever ready with sympathy and suggestion to help in time of need. And all sight-tests must be adapted to the stage of the pupil's progress.

I hope I have made clear what, at first thought, might seem inconsistent or paradoxical: that boys cannot be expected in the high school to acquire the ability to read Latin literature freely at sight, and that they should be required throughout the whole high-school course to read at sight Latin properly graded and adapted.

The commission by recommending that a sight-passage should be set on every examination paper in Latin did not intend to supplant or overthrow, but to improve and rationalize, the time-honored methods of teaching Latin. The new scheme of examinations, as far as it effects a change, will give the most progressive teachers more freedom in their range of reading and in their methods of teaching, and will leave the more conservative teachers free to read about the same parts of the same authors as hitherto; from both it will demand effective teaching. The results of the examinations will show which method proves most efficient and satisfactory.

To learn a living language by association with those who speak it is one thing; to learn a dead language like Latin, to understand its syntax and laws of development so as to read the language with a conscious appreciation of its syntax and structure, is a very different thing. The former has little to do with education; the

latter is one of the most valuable educative processes. Latin, though a dead language, is a very live subject under a live teacher. The meaning and choice of words, the force of syntax, the proper grouping of words and clauses, force and elegance of expression, historical and classical allusions—in short, grammar, rhetoric, literature, psychology, government, history, mythology—are all taught by the classical method, and make the four years' study of Latin in the high school very valuable. Though one may not in that short time learn to read Latin literature readily and easily, a boy who has mastered the syntax and feels a conscious progress in his ability to read Latin intelligently rarely fails to show pride and enthusiasm in his study. Progress is the key to success and satisfaction in any undertaking. The greatest hindrance to progress, and to satisfaction and delight, therefore, in the study of Latin is unwillingness on the part of too many pupils to study with patience, discrimination, and persistency the principles of syntax. Such pupils master nothing and so begin the work of translation by guessing at everything. And the person who guesses in translation generally guesses wrong and makes absurd blunders. Then, to avoid being laughed at, he resorts to all sorts of devices and tricks to make a show in recitation. He attempts to rely on the help of his schoolmates or printed translations. Hence the imperative necessity of sight-tests to show the teacher what pupils are doing honest and efficient work, and how far all his pupils really understand what they pretend and seem to know. Sight-tests are for all pupils a true gauge of progress and efficiency; rightly graded and adapted, they give zest and encouragement to the faithful student, while to the cheat and the sluggard they show the necessity of learning the language itself and the folly of trying to invent ways merely to make a respectable show in the recitation. All sham and pretense and conceit are revealed by a test at sight.

Again, if in class we read and review, and keep reviewing, a book of Caesar or a speech of Cicero, the pupil may become so familiar with the reading that the rapid translation is largely due to a partial memorizing of the English. This partial memorizing of a speech or a campaign or a poem by repeated and rapid translation is of great value, and should not be disparaged or neglected.

But a passage thus made familiar by repeated reviews is no sure test of a pupil's mastery of syntax or his ability to read Latin. Many pupils, too, learn the trick of answering questions about syntax and of reciting rules without the least idea of their application. Sight-tests furnish the quickest and surest way of showing pupils of this class the error of their ways. But it must not be inferred that sight-tests are merely devices for detecting fraudulent and wrong habits of study; they furnish the faithful student the best evidence of progress, and show him what he needs to study most in preparation for his daily recitation. The student needs to be impressed with the idea that the preparation of his lessons is to him what daily training is to the athlete—a training for a supreme test of power later—and that it is as absurd for him to use a "trot" as it would be for a runner in preparation for the Marathon race to ride daily around the race-track in an automobile.

But we must consider the limitations as well as the advantages of sight-tests. I think all will admit that sight-passages afford excellent tests of power and efficiency. But, that the test may be fair to the pupil, not the words only but the ideas contained in the passage must be somewhat familiar. Many passages of Latin literature, though not very difficult in construction, contain ideas or allusions which a boy of immature experience and limited reading does not, and cannot be expected to understand. The boy before such a test is like the seaman in a fog. The mariner may know how to manage the machinery of the vessel in the difficult situation and yet not know whether to advance will bring him nearer to, or carry him farther from the right course. Not to move at all is then sometimes the safer way. So the boy may know his grammar and be able to construe the words of the difficult passage, yet the thought based on some strange mythology or ancient custom is to him obscure and misty. He hesitates bewildered. Before his master he stands like an ox before the butcher, dumbly waiting to be slaughtered.

I therefore know of no duty on the part of a teacher of Latin that calls for more deliberative judgment than the task of selecting a suitable passage for a sight-test. A passage for sight-transla-

tion should not contain words, forms, or constructions that the pupil has not had. Nor should it contain words, though used before, which have new or unusual meanings. If new words, except some regular derivatives, occur, or words with a new or special meaning, the meaning should be given on the paper. But even this should be avoided as far as possible. For an ambitious boy's conscious ability and commendable pride of success are lowered by every word translated for him.

The most suitable passages, especially for less advanced students, may be taken from some later portion of the text that is being studied. For a class reading the first book of Caesar, for instance, a passage should be taken from some later chapter of that book or from another book of Caesar. A sight-passage from Nepos should not be given to a class that has read nothing but Caesar. Many passages from Sallust are appropriate for classes reading Cicero's orations against Catiline; and some passages from Ovid can with justice be set for classes reading Vergil. It is sometimes well to make up a passage by combining sentences taken from several different chapters. Sometimes a change of construction in some of the sentences may be advisable, or even necessary, to secure a suitable passage. From an almost reverential regard for the ancient text, classical teachers have hesitated to make any changes in the text even for purposes of teaching. But sight-tests and sight-reading often make such changes advisable. Of course, when we rearrange and reconstruct Latin sentences, great care must be taken to avoid making mistakes. And only teachers of a pretty confident mastery of the language can or should attempt to do this. Incidentally one great gain in requiring sight-work is to induce teachers to acquire a wider knowledge of Latin literature and a more conscious and rational knowledge of the syntax, structure, and idioms of the language, so that they may become more efficient instructors. Teachers who have very little knowledge of Latin themselves will not presume to teach their pupils to read Latin at sight. But this is not said to cast reflection upon young teachers who cannot read Latin literature freely and easily. Many experienced and efficient teachers cannot do this. In fact, almost none of us can do this

as we would like to do. Yet all Latin teachers should by constant practice keep working toward the goal.

Again, many pupils of excellent ability but of a sensitive nature cannot do themselves justice at sight-translation, just as some able and learned men cannot make a speech extemporaneously even in their own language. So passages from prescribed reading combined with sight-tests are necessary to a fair and safe judgment of a pupil's real ability and progress. The very best examination includes a passage from the prescribed reading, questions on syntax, Latin composition, and a sight-passage.

But I know many teachers will naturally be asking how they shall prepare their classes for sight-tests and sight-translation.

Let it be remembered that sight-translation is not different from any other translation. Sight-reading is not a magic art or the mysterious work of wizard or enchantress. One can read Latin at sight only in proportion to his understanding of the words, phrases, idioms, order of words, and syntax of the language. Therefore I say that the way to prepare a class to translate at sight is to teach in the best way possible vocabulary, idioms, order of words, and syntax. These can be taught partly by intensive drill on these very points and partly by extensive reading. To emphasize the need of these two processes was the aim of the commission in recommending the new requirements and the new method of examinations. The intensive drill should come first. Then the two processes should go on together. In the first three years I would rigidly insist on a thorough drill in the syntax, idioms, and order of words, which by the way are, I think, most effectively taught through daily practice in composition based on the work which is being read. Gradually the drill in syntax and composition may be lessened and the reading at sight may be increased till finally the extensive and easy reading is possible and the main object. The proportion of time and energy devoted to the two processes in the earlier years will differ somewhat according to the ideas of the instructor. Personally I am inclined to insist upon the persistent drill on syntax and idioms in the prepared work, especially during the first two or three years. Therefore I would have more of the preparatory reading pre-

scribed. But the plan of the Commission of Fifteen was a most happy solution of the whole difficulty. For any teacher who prefers to confine himself to the traditional prescribed reading can still do so. No one is compelled by the new requirements to change in the least from the authors and works usually read, while those who want to roam a little wider and change from year to year have a broad range from which to choose. Those who think the best way to learn Latin is by persistent drill on syntax first will be likely to follow pretty closely the old prescribed reading; those who think the only object in studying Latin is to learn to read the literature and that the quickest way to reach this end is by much and rapid reading will devote more time directly to sight-reading and will wish to read a greater amount. I believe a thorough drill in the syntax and structure of the language is very valuable both in itself and as a basis for an intelligent reading of the literature.

If a class has been trained to an intelligent and working knowledge of the grammar, neither the teacher nor the pupil need fear an examination. Provided the passages for composition and sight-reading be judiciously selected, as I have indicated above, the pupil will obtain about the same mark in syntax, composition, and the sight-test. I have proved this statement over and over again by the examination of many classes for many years. The statement holds true even of pupils who have not read any Latin at sight in the class. So I say the way to prepare a class to read Latin at sight is to see, and insist as far as possible, that every pupil reads every prepared lesson faithfully, conscientiously, intelligently, and upon his own responsibility. Of course every pupil will not do this. But this should be the object aimed at by the teacher. Just so far as this object is attained, just so nearly the teacher has attained perfect success. Perfection is the goal to strive for, though ne'er attained.

But to read an ancient language like Latin one must have some knowledge of the history and customs of the ancients and their range of ideas. But, someone will say, this requires a liberal education. Most certainly. A knowledge of the history, the social and religious customs, and the ideas of the ancients can be

obtained only by long study and extensive reading. And for this very reason we do not—we cannot, and we must not be expected to—prepare boys in four years to read Latin literature freely at sight. A pupil should be required to solve problems in algebra at sight. But he should not be expected to solve problems involving quadratics when he has studied only simple equations. So a boy cannot be expected to translate idioms which he has never seen or to understand a passage in Latin when the ideas even are to him unfamiliar. Therefore great caution and judgment must be exercised by those who set sight-passages for entrance examinations in Latin. They must not expect too much, and they must see that the sight-tests, not only in vocabulary and idiom, but in range of ideas, are adapted to the proficiency which can reasonably be demanded of high-school boys who have studied Latin only four years. Our task in the preparatory schools is so to train and direct our pupils that they will work toward the desired end, which is to read Latin intelligently and appreciatively. To this end it is desirable, but not imperative, that we should practice sight-reading in class. Of the two alternatives, however, it is better to read critically and intelligently the prescribed text with little direct effort at sight-reading than to attempt to read much loosely at sight, with little or no regard to accuracy. Sight-reading can generally, in the high schools, be much more successfully practiced in the second half of the year. After the class has read Caesar for a half-year and has become somewhat familiar with the vocabulary and style, the last ten or fifteen minutes of the recitation period may be spent in reading some one of the easier chapters in the later books. Toward the end of the year half the period, and occasionally the whole period, may well be spent in reading at sight. The same general method may be followed with the classes in Cicero and Vergil.

To prepare pupils for sight-reading we must teach syntax in such a way that it may be a help toward understanding the language. Many pupils can recite the rules of syntax fluently and yet know nothing whatever about the relation of ideas which is the basis of syntax. When we learn from the grammar the rules for the dative, for instance, it is well to select for sight-translation

several short sentences in which the dative occurs, and to make up several short sentences in English to be turned into Latin requiring the dative. When a boy can translate correctly Latin idioms and constructions, and can correctly turn into Latin simple English sentences illustrating those idioms and constructions, the teacher can cease to ask questions every day about those particular points. It is better to concentrate the attention on a few constructions till they are mastered than to attempt to ask in a perfunctory way the same set of questions day after day, receiving the same meaningless answers. Why is it necessary to ask every day the reason for the simplest subjunctive? The pupil looks back over the page and says that the subjunctive is after *ut* denoting purpose. The teacher may think that the boy understands what he has said, and puts down a high mark for a ready answer. But perhaps in the next sentence the boy comes to *ut dixerat*, which he translates, "that he might have said." Is it any wonder that such a boy fails in every sight-test and quails before the simplest exercise in Latin composition? Instead of asking why *dicant* is subjunctive in the sentence *Caesar legatos mittit qui dicant*, ask the pupil to substitute *u* for *a* in *dicant* and then translate.

Vocabulary, another essential to sight-reading, must be learned partly by special effort and partly by extensive reading. Words like *bellum* and *gladius*, which can always, or usually, be translated by one invariable word in English, present no serious difficulty. But to understand such words as *ratio*, *indicium*, *monumentum*, etc., requires a knowledge of derivation and the formation of words. Hence much more attention should be given to the study of word-formation. Before leaving the high school a boy should know, from the derivation, the meaning of such series of words as these: *pascor*, *pabulum*, *pabulor*, *pabulator*, *pabulatio*; *nosco*, *nomen*, *nomino*, *nominatio*, *nominalis*, *nominatim*; *rigeo*, *rigesco*, *rigidus*, *rigor*; *ubi*, *ubinam*, *ubivis*, *ubique*, *ubicumque*. One great essential in acquiring a knowledge of such words as *ratio* and *consilium*, which are to be variously translated, is to get at the root meaning, and learn how to trace from that the developed meaning, which is revealed by the context. *Ratio* from *reor*,

"think" or "reckon," means a thought, thinking, reason, reasoning, reckoning, an account, list, idea, plan, scheme, system, desire, consideration, etc. *Consilium* means consultation, counsel, advice, plan, design, purpose, resolve, determination; or the power to plan, shrewdness, discretion, wisdom; or a body of counselors, a council, jury, etc. By analogy what must *indicium*, from *indico* [*ins-dico*], mean?

Before a pupil can read Latin at sight some special idioms and some peculiarities in the order of words and clauses must be understood. The use of the relative before the antecedent and the use of *primus* or *princeps* agreeing with a subject trouble most boys. So either the same day, or the day before, the class reaches the sentence in Caes. i. 12: *quae pars civitatis Helvetiae insignem calamitatem populo Romano intulerat, ea princeps poenas persolvit*, it is well to write on the board some such sentences as these: *Caesar primus flumen transiit*, "Caesar was the first to cross the river"; and *qui puer celerrime ambulabit is maturime domum perveniet*, "which boy walks the fastest he will reach home the soonest," or "the boy who," etc. Let the pupil see that *quae pars* corresponds in position to *qui puer*, *ea* to *is*, and *princeps* to *primus*; then he will translate the sentence correctly. Without some such special preparation I never knew a boy to translate correctly the sentence in Caes. i. 30: *iure iurando ne quis enuntiaret, nisi quibus communi consilio mandatum esset, inter se sanxerunt*, "they bound each other by oath that no one should announce it except those who should be authorized by common consent." The use of *quibus* with the impersonal passive, the omission of its antecedent, and the pluperfect subjunctive standing for the future perfect indicative of the direct discourse may be illustrated by some such preparatory sentences as these: *tibi credo*, "I trust you," *tibi creditur*, "you are trusted"; *qui iniuriam fecit non diligitur*, "he who has done an injury is not esteemed"; *si arma tradideris, tecum pacem faciam*, "if you will give up your arms, I will make peace with you"; *dixit si arma tradidisses tecum se pacem esse facturum*, "he said that if you would give up your arms he would make peace with you." A few days ago a pupil reading at sight came to Verg. iv. 90: *Quam simul ac tali persensit peste teneri*

cara Iovis coniunx, and could go no farther. Evidently the use of the relative at the beginning of the sentence referring to the previous sentence caused the trouble. So these three sentences were written on the board without any comment, and the pupil at once translated the sentence correctly: *Quod ubi cognovit; quam simul ac sensit; quam simul ac persensit venire.*

Of course, to be ready to illustrate peculiar idioms, syntax, and order of words with suitable examples requires much reading and preparation by the teacher. But work hurts nobody. Success is the alchemy which transmutes dull toil into coins of pleasure. The successful hunter heeds not the toil of hunting and keeps himself well supplied with ammunition. Like Diana of old the successful teacher will keep his quiver full of arrows. Preparation and equipment are not only required for efficiency and success but they command respect. Did not Homer say in ancient times that the people revered Apollo when they heard the arrows clang upon the shoulders of him as he went along?

To sum up briefly what I have said, sight-passages are the surest tests of honest work and power. But these tests must be given with strictest care. And they must be adapted in vocabulary, idioms, and ideas to the proficiency of the class. As a preparation for sight-tests, sight-reading is desirable but by no means indispensable. Thoroughness, and mastery of vocabulary, syntax, idiom, and order of words in what is read in regular course is of paramount importance. Lastly, I hope more effort will be made to secure the ability to read Latin at sight. But I also hope that there will be no stampede in a wild endeavor to reach some Eldorado or Klondike where we expect to secure the rich treasures of Latin literature with little digging. For, if so, the golden dreams of many elated enthusiasts will be like those night dreams in which we seem to fly at ease o'er verdant hills and dales, and from which we wake to walk again, as every day before, the rugged path of toil.

A PLEA FOR APULEIUS

BY ELIZABETH HAZELTON HAIGHT
Vassar College

A distinct stimulus to the reading of Apuleius by college students ought to be given by the appearance of Purser's *Cupid and Psyche*¹ and Butler's translation of the *Metamorphoses*.² Hitherto there has been no annotated English edition of the *Cupid and Psyche* or of any other part of Apuleius suitable for a college textbook, and this has been perhaps one reason why so few young people of today have come under the spell of that Golden Book which fascinated the two Roman lads in *Marius the Epicurean*. Mr. Purser's *Cupid and Psyche* is an admirable edition for college students both because of its full commentary on the text and its readable introductory material. In brief compass, but in pleasant style, he gives an account of the life and writings of Apuleius calculated to make the reader wish a closer acquaintance with the many-sided literary soldier of fortune; discusses next the story of Cupid and Psyche as myth or allegory and its influence in art and literature; has a third chapter on the style and language of Apuleius, beginning with a clear characterization of Asianism and finishing with detailed summaries of Apuleius' own peculiarities; then, in chap. iv, gives a brief statement of manuscripts and editions. These chapters are accompanied by extensive footnotes which relieve them of a weight of erudition, and three appendices add further valuable material on Milesian tales, allegorical explanations of the story, and poems by Meleager on love and the soul. Although the student of Apuleius may differ from Mr. Purser on certain mooted questions, as indeed Mr. Butler does in his review of the book³ in regard to the relative dates of the *Metamorphoses*

¹ *The Story of Cupid and Psyche as Related by Apuleius*, edited with introduction and notes, by Louis C. Purser. London: George Bell & Sons, 1910.

² *The Metamorphoses or Golden Ass of Apuleius of Madaura*. Translated by H. E. Butler. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910. 2 vols.

³ *Classical Review*, September, 1910, 191.

and the *Apologia* and the interdependence of Apuleius, the pseudo-Lucian and Lucius of Patrae, yet college and university professors must welcome an edition of such sound scholarship and helpful exegesis.

Butler's translation of the *Metamorphoses* also is of direct benefit to college students, for a dip into its enlivening pages certainly would make readers of Latin want to know so fascinating a story-teller, and to non-Latin students it presents Apuleius in simple, readable form. The value of the translation is indeed the fact that the English is so natural and attractive. That much of the virility and all the ribaldry of Apuleius is lost has been pointed out by Mr. Rouse, who comments in his review¹ that Mr. Butler's translation has been made for "the young person." Since the young college person reads *Tom Jones* in English literature and is acquainted with modern French fiction, it seems a pity that any translator's careful protection should keep from him so good a story as that of the lost sandals, which Mr. Butler expurgates!²

It is partly because of Mr. Butler's puritanical modifications that Adlington's translation (1566) is so much nearer the original in spirit although often so far removed by inaccuracies from the Latin text on the one hand, and on the other, by its Elizabethan diction, from our English idiom of today. Pater's exquisite paraphrase of the Cupid and Psyche story perhaps approaches more nearly the beauty of the original in that one episode, but is yet a paraphrase rather than an adequate rendering. How much closer Butler is to the Latin than Adlington or Pater may be seen in such a passage as the description of Venus' voyage over the sea,³ where because of textual difficulties Adlington omits about half of the description, Pater simplifies greatly, and Butler alone suggests the beautiful picture of the goddess "treading with rosy feet the topmost foam of the quivering waves." Butler makes no attempt to reproduce Apuleius' Asianic style, loses all balanced antitheses, coined words, rhyming phrases, as in his rendering of part of Psyche's oath "per . . . currum rapacem et terram tenacem et inluminarum Proserpinae nubtiarum demeacula et luminosarum filiae

¹ *Ibid.*, May, 1910, 91.

² *Met.* 9. 17-21.

³ *Ibid.* 4. 31.

inventionum remeacula"¹ by such colorless English as "by the ravisher's car and the imprisoning earth, by the deep abyss where the lightless wedlock of Proserpine was celebrated, by the joyous return to the light when thou hadst found thy daughter." But how disastrous the effect of so artificial a style as the Latin may be in an English reproduction can be seen in Mr. Purser's attempt to render in English one of Apuleius' "Florida," "retaining," as he says, "the alliteration, assonances, and other artificialities."² No very young person or average English reader indeed would be attracted to a translation of Apuleius in so stilted and unnatural an English tone. We return to Mr. Butler's pellucid and attractive English style with conviction that he has accomplished what his modest introduction hopes.³

All this commentary on the two new books from Mr. Purser and Mr. Butler is but to lead the way to my special plea: that Apuleius should be more often read in college courses. According to the catalogue statements, he is not found in the curricula of Amherst, Cornell, Harvard, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Yale, Mount Holyoke, Vassar, Wellesley; selections from him are read in courses on Roman satire, or prose of the Empire, or in rapid-reading courses, at California, Williams, Bryn Mawr, and Smith, and only at Chicago and Columbia is he studied in special courses. It seems to me exceedingly desirable that courses in Apuleius should be offered to the college students of today because he is invaluable in literary work for the study of the development of the novel, classical romanticist that he is; second because his fascination as a brilliant storyteller has a direct appeal to the young; third because the *Metamorphoses* with their stories within stories are eminently suited for sight-translation.

I would suggest the desirability of a two-hour course running through one semester in which one hour a week should be devoted to a careful study of the Cupid and Psyche story (based on Purser's edition), the work to consist of the translation and reading of the text, a comparative study of the translations by Adlington, Pater,

¹ *Met.* 6. 2.

² *Introd.*, pp. xxxi-xxxiii.

³ *I.*, 22.

and Butler, the preparation of special papers on the sources of the *Metamorphoses*, the style of Apuleius in the Cupid and Psyche story, the life of Apuleius, the story of Cupid and Psyche in art and English literature, the history of the interpretation of the story. The second hour each week could be given to sight-translation of other portions of the *Metamorphoses* (Helm's text, Teubner, to be used). The following passages would be found admirable for this work, and many more can be added.

Met. 1. 1, "Introducing Apuleius"

2. 21-30, "The Watching of the Corpse, or the Man without a Nose"
2. 31-3. 11, "A Roman Falstaff, or the Battle of the Wine-Skins"
3. 21, 24-28, "The Transformation of Lucius"
4. 9-21, "The Stories of the Robber Chieftains"
4. 23-27, "Charite, the Stolen Maiden, in the Robbers' Cave"
8. 1-14, "Another Chapter in Charite's Story"
9. 17-21, "The Sandals under the Bed"
11. 7-15, "The Procession of Isis and the Ass Transformed"
11. 25, "The Prayer to Isis"

Such a course would be full of interest because its material would be new and delightful; would be beneficial for all literary work of the college students as a study of the Latin novel and a study of a remarkable style; and it would introduce new blood into our college courses which need perhaps to make a more varied appeal to the young than is usually done through the classical avenues of the authors most often read, Cicero, Vergil, Horace, and the comedians.

Current Events

Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Volkmann School, Boston, Mass., for the territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States, west to the Mississippi River; Walter Miller, Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La., for the southern states; and by Frederick C. Eastman, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the territory west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. This department will present everything that is properly news—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.

New Jersey

Princeton.—The fifth annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States was held with Princeton University as host on April 21 and 22. Greetings were presented from the Classical Association of New England by Professor G. L. Hendrickson, of Yale University, and from the Classical Association of the Middle West and South by Professor F. J. Miller, of the University of Chicago. The following papers were read: "Greek Medicine and the Cure-Inscriptions from Epidaurus," by Professor G. M. Whicher, Normal College, New York City; "A Witticism of Asinius Pollio," by Professor G. L. Hendrickson, of Yale University; "Preparatory Classics," by Professor Hamilton Ford Allen, of Washington and Jefferson College; "The Roman Wall in Britain," by Professor John H. Westcott, of Princeton University; "Decimus Magnus Ausonius," by Miss Anna Pearl MacVay, of the Wadleigh High School, New York City; "The Lyric Mood," a study in the adaptation of lyric form to lyric mood, especially in Latin poetry, by Professor Frank J. Miller, of the University of Chicago; "The Life of the Ancient Greeks," by Professor D. M. Robinson, of the Johns Hopkins University; *O matre pulchra filia pulchrior*, by Dr. Edgar Howard Sturtevant, Barnard College.

North Carolina

The University of North Carolina.—There is an organization at the University of North Carolina known as the Philological Club, which has a worthy history of rather long standing. Its membership includes all those members of the faculty who are teachers of ancient or modern languages or literatures and the more advanced students of the same subjects. The club publishes a journal of two issues a year, the contents of which are contributed by members of the club.

Louisiana

Classical Department of the State Teachers' Association.—At the twentieth annual meeting of the Louisiana State Public School Teachers' Association, held at Lake Charles, April 6, 7, and 8, the Classical Association of Louisiana held its annual session. The following papers were read: "How to Secure from the Pupil Adequate Preparation of the Latin Lesson," by Miss Mabel W. Leftwich, of Lafayette; "The Popularizing of Our Father-Tongue—Latin," by

R. W. Winstead, of the State Normal School, Natchitoches; "The Forum in the Days of Cicero," by Miss Edith Miller, of Houma.

The officers of the ensuing year are R. W. Winstead, president, and Miss Edith Miller, secretary.

Indiana

Earlham College.—Professor John Rea, hitherto professor of Greek, will be professor of Latin and Greek after this year. Professor C. K. Chase, who has been professor of Latin, goes to Hamilton College as professor of Latin.

Illinois

Monticello Seminary.—An interpretation of Horace's dialogue, *Odes* iii. 9, was given on April 21, at one of the students' recitals. The introduction of a Latin number was an innovation. The musical reading of the Latin verse, however, made it seem quite in harmony with the rest of the program. As the setting of the ode is Greek, the costumes were Greek, Lydia wearing a long-sleeved Ionic *chiton*, and her lover a white *chiton* and green *chlamys*. The rendering was so spirited that even the non-Roman part of the audience followed it with evident interest.

Kansas

Fairmount College.—Professor F. M. Foster announces that he has in hand a complete word-index to the *De rerum natura* of Lucretius. Every occurrence of every word will be given in the form in which it occurs and these will be arranged in the usual paradigm order. For the sake of saving space, genders of adjectives will not be distinguished when they are of the same form, as *huius*, though every occurrence will be noted. Following each word will be a numeral indicating the number of occurrences. All genuine Latin words in *Oblongus* and *Quadratus* will be noted and those not accepted by any modern editor will be starred. No particular edition has been chosen as a basis, and as far as possible all variant readings will be included. Emendations will be distinguished by italicized line numbers. The numbering of the lines which is given in *Oblongus* will be strictly followed in order to avoid confusion. The Index will be published by the Macmillans as a separate number of the "University of Michigan Humanistic Studies."

DOCTOR'S DISSERTATIONS IN CLASSICAL DEPARTMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING JULY 1, 1910

Compiled by J. J. SCHLICHER

Columbia University

1. FLORENCE THEODORA BALDWIN. *The Bellum Civile of Petronius* (Columbia University Press).
2. MAX RADIN. *The Legislation of the Greeks and Romans on Corporations*.
3. IZORA SCOTT. *Controversies over the Imitation of Cicero as a Model for Style, and Some Phases of Their Influence on the Schools of the Renaissance* (Columbia University Press).

Cornell University

4. MARY B. McELWAIN. *The Imperative in Plautus.*

Johns Hopkins University

5. A. M. GATES. *The Form and Use of the Proper Name in Latin Literature.*
 6. A. P. WAGENER. *Popular Associations of Right and Left in Roman Literature.*

Leland Stanford University

7. RUFUS TOWN STEPHENSON. *Some Aspects of the Dramatic Art of Aeschylus.*
 8. ERNEST WHITNEY MARTIN. *A Check List, with Observations, of the Birds in the Latin Poets.*

Princeton University

9. CLIFFORD PEASE CLARK. *Numerical Phraseology in Virgil.*
 10. WILLIAM TUNSTALL SEMPLE. *The Sources and Value of the "De Origine Gentis Romanae."*
 11. SELATIE EDGAR STOUT. *The Governors of Maesia.*
 12. FREDERICK WARREN WRIGHT. *Studies in Menander.*
 To this list should be added one which was omitted last year:
 13. SAMUEL GLENN HARROD. *Latin Terms of Endearment and of Family Relationship—A Lexicographical Study based on Vol. VI of the CIL* (Falcon Press, Princeton; may be bought of University Library, Princeton).

University of California

14. WINTHROP LEICESTER KEEP. *The Separation of the Adjective from Its Substantive in Plautus* (to be printed privately).

University of Chicago

15. AURELIO MACEDONIO ESPINOSA. *Studies in New Mexican Spanish: Part I, Phonology.*
 16. JOHN STRAYER MCINTOSH. *A Study in Augustine's Version of Genesis.*

University of Pennsylvania

17. EUGENE WATSON BURLINGAME. *Buddhaghosa's Dhammapada Commentary* (Publ. in *Proc. Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, XLV, 467 ff.).

University of Virginia

18. MIFFLIN WYATT SWARTY. *The Personal Characteristics and the Dramatic Use of the Old in Euripides.*

University of Wisconsin

19. HAROLD R. HASTINGS. *On the Relations between Inscriptions and Sculptured Representations upon Attic Tombstones.*

Yale University

20. ERMA ELOISE COLE. *The Samas of Herodotus* (to be published).
 21. CLARENCE WHITTLESEY MENDELL. *Sentence Connection in Tacitus* (to be published).
 22. CLYDE PHARR. *Hellanicus and the Ionian Logography* (to be published).

Book Reviews

The Bellum Civile of Petronius. Edited with introduction, commentary, and translation by FLORENCE THEODORA BALDWIN, PH.D. Columbia University Press.

This is an elaborate study somewhat in the manner of Ball's study upon Seneca's satire on Claudius, upon the 295 hexameter lines of Petronius sometimes called the *Bellum Civile*.

In the introduction the author comes to about the same conclusion as Collignon that the poem is in no sense a satire upon Lucan's work. She suggests that a writer of such keen satirical power as Petronius would have left no doubt as to the satirical intent had such been his purpose. This view certainly appears to be the reasonable one.

For all the wealth of information contained in the notes where this bears directly upon the elucidation of the text the student of Petronius will be grateful. Some of the information seems out of place. The reader need not be told what Helicon was. The famous phrase *curiosa felicitas* requires no explanation, and to devote ten lines to the circumstances attending Pompey's death seems superfluous in a work of this type. This tendency and the practice of quoting in full passages cited swell the commentary on thirteen pages of text to the appalling number of 121 pages.

There are places where opinions upon interpretation may differ, but in general the author's views are sound and well supported.

The translation into blank verse which ends the volume is well executed, being with one exception exact, readable, and spirited. On p. 240 there is a strange misapprehension of Petronius' meaning. The translation reads:

One common charge,
One doom awaits us all, but I will pay
To all my debt: I have not fought alone.

The words *reddenda est gratia vobis* do not mean "I will pay my debt to all" but "They must pay to all the debt," and are ironical, referring to Caesar's enemies whose vengeance is to fall upon Caesar's soldiers as well as upon Caesar himself.

Turning to the commentary we read "Caesar was always most generous in recognizing the services of his officers and men," clearly indicating that it is no mere slip in translation but a complete misunderstanding of the meaning.

JOSEPH B. PIKE

Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals. By E. NORMAN GARDINER.
 London: Macmillan, 1910. Pp. xxvii+533; 508 illustrations.
 \$2.50.

The author of this book, which is one in the series of "Handbooks of Archaeology and Antiquities" edited by Professors Percy Gardner and Francis W. Kelsey, has done a great service for English readers by supplying them with an interesting and comprehensive discussion of his subject in which is brought together much hitherto inaccessible material from a scattered foreign literature and from the latest archaeological discoveries. He hopes that his book may be of interest to the general reader as well as to the student of the past. And this hope is reasonable, for the style is vigorous; due consideration is given to the universal aspect of the subject, as in the origin, practice, and tendency of games; the value of athletics in the interpretation of the art and literature of the Old World is made clear; frequent comparisons using the terms of present-day sports are made between ancient and modern athletics; and lessons are suggested "from the athletic history of a nation which for a time at least succeeded in reconciling the rival claims of body and mind."

The book is arranged in two parts. The first 250 pages are devoted to a history of Greek athletics and athletic festivals from the earliest times to 393 A.D.—a new field and no small task, but admirably done. Suggestive of the treatment in this part, chaps. vi, vii, and viii are on "The Age of Athletic Ideal, 500-440 B.C.," "Professionalism and Specialization, 440-338 B.C.," "The Decline of Athletics, 338-146 B.C.," and the last chapters discuss the four Panhellenic festivals and the Athenian festivals. The most of the chapters in the second part are devoted each to the discussion of a single contest, as throwing the diskos, the foot-race, the pentathlon, etc., while a chapter is given each to the stadium, the hippodrome, and the gymnasium and palaestra. Each chapter here is complete in itself and many of them are papers previously published by the author in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. The plan of the book naturally leads to considerable repetition, as the details necessary to make the history of the subject complete must be introduced again in the descriptive accounts of the various contests.

While there is no book in English that occupies the same field there are in German Jüthner's *Antike Turngerichte*, Mommsen's *Feste der Stadt Athen*, and Kraus's *Die Gymnastik u. Agonistik*, to all of which the author makes due acknowledgment. But in general scope the book stands alone.

As an indication of the comprehensive treatment of the subject, mention may be made of the use of sculpture, vases, coins, and literature to elucidate the history of athletics. The prominence of the athlete in sculpture leads the author over a large part of the history of that subject, in which he acknowledges his indebtedness to Furtwängler's *Die Bedeutung der Gymnastik in der griechischen Kunst*. It may be a question whether the broad shoulders of the

early so-called Apollos are due wholly to the sculptor's attempt to render an athletic type, as the author seems to imply.

It is interesting to read one who is sure about many things, such as the method of throwing the diskos, and who takes evident satisfaction in controverting the authorities, as the statement in Liddell and Scott that boxing was part of the pentathlon and that the victor had to win in all five contests. One does not need to be disturbed at seeing athletic terms spelled with Greek characters when first used and afterward written in transliterated form without being italicized, nor at the appearance of the word "Boxer" on p. 402 without the "r."

The book with its numerous illustrations and plans, thoroughness, accuracy and breadth of treatment, full bibliography and index is a most valuable contribution on the subject and is indispensable in any private or public library which aims to be even fairly equipped in the department of antiquities.

WILLIAM S. EBERSOLE

CORNELL COLLEGE
MOUNT VERNON, IOWA

Imagines Philologorum. 160 Bildnisse aus der Zeit von der Renaissance bis zur Gegenwart. Gesammelt und herausgegeben von ALFRED GUDEMAN. Leipzig u. Berlin: Teubner, 1911. Pp. viii+40. M. 4.

This is the first attempt to bring together a fairly complete collection of the portraits of distinguished philologists, and the album forms an admirable supplement to the same author's *Grundriss der Geschichte der klassischen Philologie*, now in its second edition. The likenesses, with one or two possible exceptions, are of classical philologists.

There is given an alphabetical list of names, indicating the place and date of birth and death of each scholar represented. Then follows the album proper, the portraits being arranged, four on a page, in strict chronological order from Petrarch to Krumbacher. The reproductions are of uniform excellence, which is all the more noteworthy because of some of the originals. Incidentally one gets a remarkable collection of fashion plates portraying divers styles of hats, wigs, whiskers, and the like.

The album has the same defect that is shown by the *Grundriss*—it is too provincial. The English are meagerly represented and Americans are wholly excluded. One misses Sophocles, Wright, Hadley, and Seymour, to mention a few by name. Then, too, if Bopp is eligible surely Whitney should be.

The volume is tastefully bound in boards and is appropriately ornamented with a vignette of Aristotle, "il maestro di color che sanno."

G. C. SCOGGIN

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

Recent Books

Foreign books in this list may be obtained of Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 West 27th St., New York City; G. E. Stechert & Co., 151-55 West 25th St., New York City.

- BILLETER, GUSTAV. *Die Anschauungen vom Wesen des Griechentums*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1911. Pp. xviii+477. M. 12.
- D'OOGHE, B. L. *Latin for Beginners*. Boston: Ginn, 1911. Pp. xii+348. \$1.00.
- GRIGGS, E. H. *The Philosophy of Plato and Its Relation to Modern Life*. New York: Huebsch, 1911. Pp. 50. \$0.25.
- HEAD, B. V. *Historia Numorum*. A Manual of Greek Numismatics. New and enlarged ed. Oxford University Press, 1911. \$12.75.
- KESSLER. *Isokrates und die panhellenische Idee*. Paderborn: Schoeningh, 1911. Pp. 86. M. 2.80.
- KLUSSMANN, R. *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Classicorum et Graecorum et Latinorum*, Die Litteratur von 1878 bis 1896 einschliesslich umfassend. Erster Band. "Scriptores Graeci, Zweiter Teil." Leipzig: Reisland, 1911. M. 12.
- MERGUET. *Lexikon zu Vergilius mit Angabe sämtlicher Stellen*. Lief. 1-5: A-"maneo." (Vollständig in 7 bis 8 Heften zu je 5 M.) Leipzig: Schmidt, 1911.
- MORRIS, E. P. *Horace, Satires and Epistles*. New York: Amer. Book Co., 1911. Pp. 238. \$1.25.
- MURRAY, GILBERT. *Oedipus, King of Thebes*. Translated into English Rhyming Verse, with Explanatory Notes. Oxford University Press, 1911. Pp. xi+92. \$0.75.
- GRUNDY, G. B. *Thucydides and the History of His Age*. London: John Murray, 1911. Pp. xix+555. 16s.
- RÖHL, H. *Tacitus: Der Rednerdialog*. I, Text. II, Kommentar. Leipzig: Freytag, 1911. M. 1.50.
- SHEWAN, A. *The Lay of Dolon*. Some Notes on Its Language, Verse, and Contents; with Remarks by the Way on the Canons and Methods of Homeric Criticism. New York: Macmillan, 1911. Pp. xl+290. \$3.25.
- SLATER, D. C. *Ovid: Stories from the "Metamorphoses"*. Oxford University Press, 1911. Pp. 140. 2s. 6d.

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